

California History

summer 1978



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COVER

Obliging workmen paused amid the palatial rubble on San Francisco's California Street Hill for Eadweard Muybridge to photograph the show-place city under construction. For a look at the remarkable 8-foot-long panorama, and a discussion establishing the correct time and date of the photographs based on visual clues in the eleven panels, turn to the article beginning on page 130. *CHS Library*.

California History

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The Magazine of the California Historical Society

A Viticultural Mystery Solved

THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF

Zinfandel

IN CALIFORNIA



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Californians are justly proud of the Zinfandel grape and the many fine wines made from it; nowhere else in the world does it grow under this name. Yet California's "mystery grape" is clearly of European origin, and many tales and theories have been compounded over the years to explain its appearance in California vineyards.

Three mysteries surround the grape's origins. The first concerns its ancestral roots in the Old World, but a chance discovery in 1967 and further research at the Davis campus of the University of California have begun to untangle this part of the puzzle.¹ The second involves the grape's transit to North America from Europe, a matter which has remained virtually unprobed by researchers. The third question, and the one to which this paper is addressed, is how the Zinfandel came to California and how it developed into a wine grape that was to become basic in the production of California's dry red table wines.

One aspect of the Zinfandel's "mysterious" origins perhaps should never have been in question. This is the fact that it had long been used in New England as a popular table grape before its introduction into California's graperies and vineyards. The story of the Zinfandel in California begins with its importation in the 1850's by men who knew it well, but who had no idea about its wine-making potential in the new environment. But what has confounded the story in the past century has been the so-called "Haraszthy legend," which states without equivocation that "Count" Agostín Haraszthy imported the Zinfandel into California in 1852 and in the ensuing years spread it to vineyardists throughout the state. Arpad Haraszthy, the count's wine-merchant son, set down the chronology of this legend fully thirty

What has confounded the story in the past century has been the so-called "Haraszthy legend," which states without equivocation that Count Agostín Haraszthy imported the Zinfandel into California in 1852. . . .

years after the fact, and since that time historians and other writers have struggled to integrate this narrative into those portions of the grape's history which can be factually documented.

The basis for the Haraszthy claim is a four-page manuscript, hand-written by Arpad Haraszthy in 1886 for historian Hubert Howe Bancroft.² From it a typescript was prepared which was then hand-corrected by Arpad.³ Subsequently, the count's son elaborated and expanded this claim in an article in a booklet about Sonoma County published in 1888.⁴ Later historians have found no documentary proof for this Haraszthy claim save these pages. As a result, even the best works on Agostín Haraszthy's contributions to the California wine industry have rested on these latter-day accounts and recollections, all based on the claims of a man who was not yet a teenager when the events began. (Arpad was born in 1840.)⁵

The Haraszthy chronology has the Zinfandel grape traveling from Agostín's Crystal Springs nursery in San Mateo County to Sonoma sometime between the spring of 1856 and May, 1857. But no Zinfandel vintage is known to have been produced for at least five years, a surprising circumstance because the grape easily brings forth a good crop by its third year. This fact is equally surprising because Arpad claimed that throughout these five years, the elder Haraszthy praised the grape as the best for making claret and sold it throughout the state as such. Many nurserymen in Northern California sold

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This article is based on a paper presented at the annual conference of the American Society of Enologists, held in June, 1976.

vinifera (foreign) cuttings during these years—millions of them, if we are to believe the advertisements appearing in the press—but no evidence exists that Haraszthy was a leading figure in this activity.⁶

That Haraszthy was active in the early development of Sonoma County's wine industry and influential in the development of the statewide industry cannot be doubted. He proved to be an effective and prolific speaker and writer on the subject of wines and vines for the frontier state, and by examining these speeches and writings we can gain a fair picture of his activities at Buena Vista in Sonoma. But there is virtually no evidence in all of his records to support his son's later claims concerning the Zinfandel.

In February, 1858, Haraszthy penned his well-known "Report on Grapes and Wine of California," and in October he wrote a long letter to the secretary of the State Agricultural Society describing his activities at Buena Vista Farm and offering good advice to growers and winemakers. But there is no word of the Zinfandel in these reports nor in any of the numerous letters he placed in Bay Area newspapers.⁷

Two years later the visiting committee of the Agricultural Society praised Haraszthy's efforts, but noted that his propagation and winemaking operations were given over chiefly to the Mission grape.⁸ He was working, reported the committee, to increase his foreign varieties, and he had given at least one Hungarian grape to other growers in the area.⁹

In 1861 Haraszthy traveled to Europe to collect every possible kind of grape vine, and by the end of the year he had returned from a fruitful trip which was well publicized in the San Francisco press. The catalogue of his new vines revealed a marvelous collection, many of which were already known in California but most of which were not. Included were 156 grapes of Hungarian origin, but not the Zinfandel.¹⁰ Three years later he exhibited a young red wine made from vinifera grapes at San Francisco's Mechanics' Institute Fair and won a



first prize. The wine grapes had not come from Buena Vista, however, but from the nearby vineyards of General Mariano Vallejo, a long-time Sonoma grape grower and winemaker. (We shall see that Vallejo may have acquired the Zinfandel much earlier from the San Jose area under the name "Black St. Peter's."¹¹) Not until 1866-67 is there a clear and direct reference to the successful use of Zinfandel at Buena Vista. It was noted by Thomas Hart Hyatt, the editor of the *California Rural Home Journal*, who found a good red wine made mostly from the Mission, "Zinfindal," and Black St. Peter's grapes.¹²

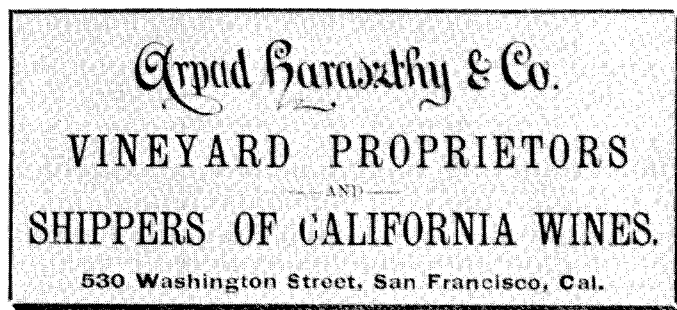
Compounding the problems raised by accepting the Haraszthy chronology are the whereabouts of the young son who supposedly recalled these events years later. Although Arpad did travel to California with his family from Wisconsin in 1851, he quickly returned east with his mother to continue his education and returned to California but once for two months in 1857. He then went to Paris to train as a civil engineer, but soon immersed himself in the study of enology, with particular emphasis on sparkling wines. He returned to Sonoma in

Arpad Haraszthy, son of the pioneer Sonoma County vineyardist and winemaker, found it to his commercial advantage to associate his firm with the state's earliest vineyards. His company advertisement (right) appeared regularly in the Pacific Wine and Spirit Review in 1888.

the summer of 1862, took charge of his father's cellars, and began his experiments which led to the first production of a good California "Champagne."¹³ Arpad was well prepared to assume a leading role in the state's wine industry in years to come, but the experience of these years on the continent certainly did not qualify him to make "eyewitness" statements on the spread of Zinfandel in California between 1852 and 1862.

The solidification of the Haraszthy myth occurred in the 1880's when the question of the origins of the grape was first seriously debated. (By this time most winemen accepted the Zinfandel as the best for making sound commercial claret, California's most profitable wine type.) Charles A. Wetmore started this process when he made his first long report to the Board of State Viticultural Commissioners. The learned Wetmore assembled much useful information on the California wine situation, but his treatment of the Zinfandel did him little justice as a scholar, and he knew it.¹⁴

During the next four years Wetmore studied the history of this mysterious grape and talked with scores of people concerning its origins in California. In doing so he developed a general theory, but found that it became hopelessly snarled with the idea put forth by the Haraszthy children that their father had imported it. In 1884 his report as the state's Chief Executive Viticultural Officer saluted Agostin Haraszthy for his 1861 importations, noting that the Count "knew" the Zinfandel grape in Hungary. However, he added quite correctly that its growth in popularity did not derive from some chance importation, but from the "advice of intelligent and experienced winemakers." Wetmore's language became precise and deliberate when he wrote about the Zinfandel in his "Ampelography." He stated that the grape had arrived in California "at an early day" from eastern nurserymen, noting the Massachusetts spelling "Zinfindal" and the spelling "Zinfardel" mentioned by one "American authority." His conclusion about the grape's origin is as good as any propounded in the next



three-quarters of a century. The Zinfandel, he wrote, "was not extensively propagated from early nursery stocks, but became sufficiently scattered throughout the state to cause much present confusion in the proper claim for recognition as to the credit that is due for introducing it." Not to injure his friend Arpad Haraszthy, Wetmore politely added, "That it was directly imported by Colonel [Agoston] Haraszthy is known to his family."¹⁵ Wetmore did not mention that no evidence beyond this familial tradition existed for the claim. His conclusions expressed in a trade journal at about the same time were equally measured. The Zinfandel's origins were unknown, he observed, but it probably had been taken "from collections in Europe that are almost as little known there as here, rare curiosities of viticulture, which we have utilized."¹⁶

The dispute about the grape's introduction to California broke into the open in May, 1885, when the noted Sonoma historian and journalist, Robert A. Thompson, published a long article in the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*. No man was more deeply immersed in Sonoma County history than Thompson, and he attacked the Haraszthy claim head-on. New England was the source of California's Zinfandel, he proclaimed, and he backed his claim with substantial convincing evidence.¹⁷ Three weeks later Antoine Delmas of San Jose, one of Cali-

[Historian Robert Thompson] attacked the Haraszthy claim head-on. New England was the source of California's Zinfandel, he proclaimed.

fornia's pioneer nurserymen, added his voice to the debate. He claimed that he had imported the Zinfandel from France in 1852 under the name Black St. Peter's and that he had sent General Vallejo cuttings under that name in 1854. Delmas further claimed that he had grafted the Santa Clara vineyard of J. P. Pierce to the Black St. Peter's and that everyone knew it to be a Zinfandel vineyard.¹⁸

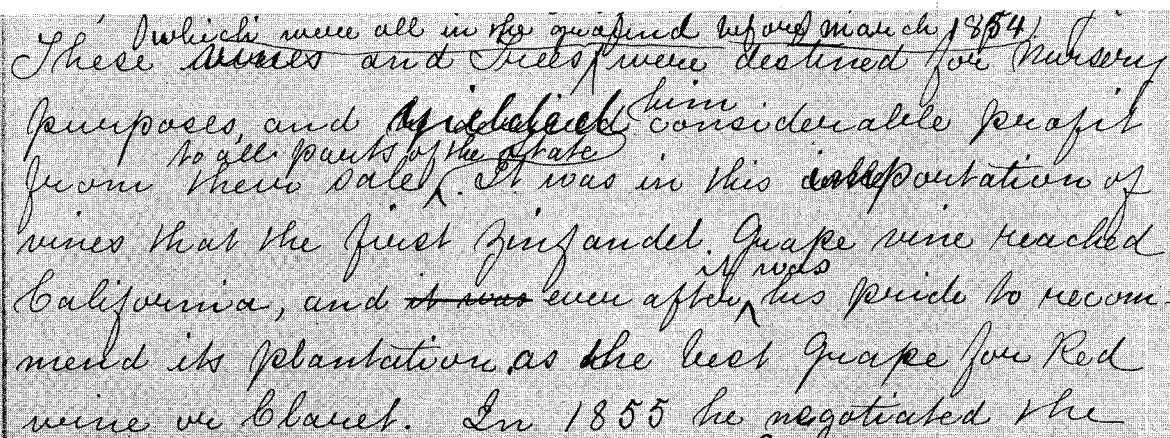
A week later at a viticultural meeting in San Jose, Arpad Haraszthy admitted that the Black St. Peter's was much like the Zinfandel and that the grapes growing in the Pierce vineyard seemed to be Zinfandel. But he stuck to his old claim and attacked only certain details in Thompson's *Bulletin* article. In doing so he made reference to the same "American authority" whom Wetmore had cited concerning the possible Hungarian origin of the grape. He further stated that the Zinfandel had grown in his mother's garden in the home country

and that it might have been a seedling of the Pinot Noir.¹⁹

It was clear that the San Francisco wine merchants, led by Haraszthy, would have nothing to do with the debunking tales from the country. After the summer of 1885, no more talk appeared in the trade journals concerning the debate, and the anti-Haraszthy group let the issue drop. People were careful about calling a man a liar in those days, particularly concerning family matters, and within a year Arpad Haraszthy had begun producing the "documentary evidence" that would become the basis for the Haraszthy claim. However, if we disregard this questionable "evidence," a clear picture of the origins of the Zinfandel in California emerges which should set the record to rest.

The "American authority" cited by Wetmore and Arpad Haraszthy was William Robert Prince, a nurseryman from Long Island whose Linnaean Botanic Gardens contained an extraordinary collection of wine and table grapes in the 1830's. His Catalogue, published in 1830 as part of his *Treatise on the Vine*, contained most of the major wine grapes we know today from Europe. Under a category of foreign varieties, "the most of which are of recent introduction," he included the "Black Zinfandel of Hungary."²⁰ Unfortunately, we do not know to what grape he referred.

In New England in the decades after the 1830's, a very



These which were all in the garden before March 1854. These vines and trees were destined for nursery purposes, and ~~Arpad~~ ^{he} considered considerable profit from their sale. It was in this introduction of vines that the first Zinfandel grape vine reached California, and ~~it was~~ ^{it was} even after his pride to recommend its plantation as the best grape for Red wine or Claret. In 1855 he negotiated the

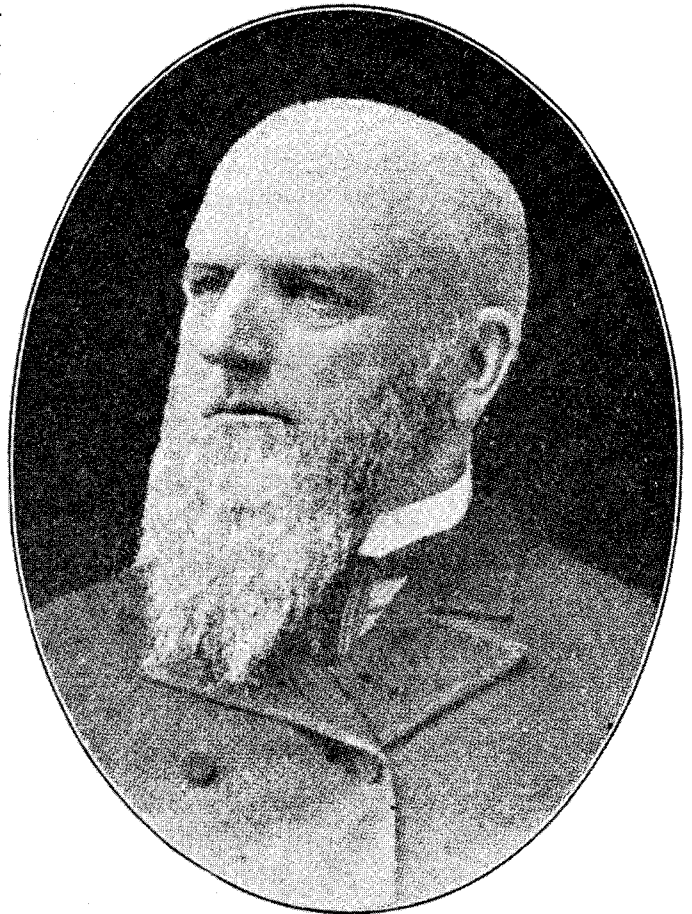
In 1886 Arpad Haraszthy prepared a manuscript on the introduction of the Zinfandel grape for historian H. H. Bancroft. Its facts are of questionable accuracy.

In 1885 Robert A. Thompson, pioneer Sonoma County historian, questioned the fable crediting Haraszthy with bringing the Zinfandel to California.

profitable fruit culture had developed, particularly the growing of grapes under glass. By “forcing” the vines, grape growers were able to supply the tables of Boston and Cambridge with clusters of luscious grapes as early in the year as February. The Massachusetts Horticultural Society enabled vineyardists to exchange information, and the annual meetings of the Society brought forth fine displays of a wide variety of grapes, most of which had appeared in Prince’s Catalogue compiled in the previous decade. Almost always included was the “Zinfindal,” a grape much praised and carefully described by New England nurserymen. Although it had a lesser reputation than the Black Hamburg or the Golden Chasselas as a table grape, it was well liked and successful. First exhibited in 1834 by Samuel J. Perkins of Boston, it won its first premium in 1839 in the collection of Otis Johnson of Lynn.²¹

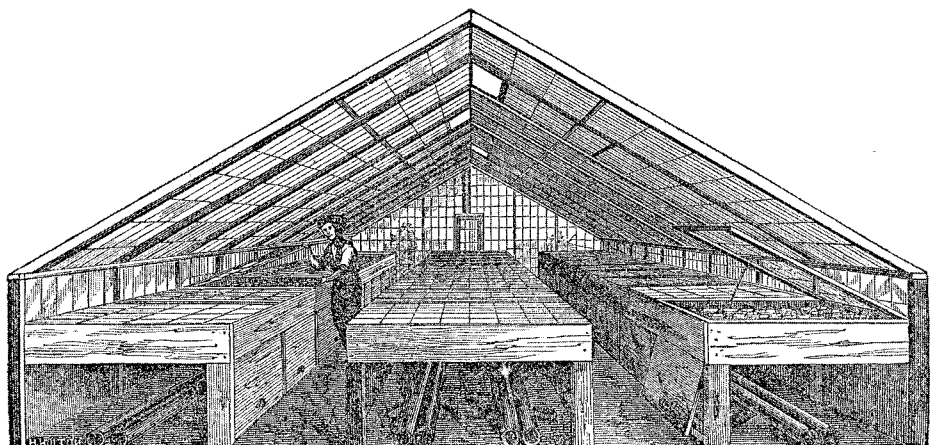
J. Fiske Allen was the leading New England authority on grape culture in the 1840’s and 1850’s, and in his works the Zinfindal has an important, if not premier, position. His careful descriptions fit our concept of the grape almost perfectly; his description of the Black St. Peter’s, also common in New England graperies, is almost identical to that of the Zinfindal. However, Allen did not take it for granted, nor should we, that Prince’s “Zinfandel” was identical to the New England Zinfindal.²²

The connection between New England and the origins of California’s agriculture, particularly its grape culture, is obvious from an examination of the origins of the nurserymen who were most active in spreading the state’s early fruit culture, and from the list of grape varieties first introduced into California in the 1850’s. An almost standard “New England collection” appeared in the nurseries of numerous California grape growers. Amid scores of native and foreign grape types listed, an

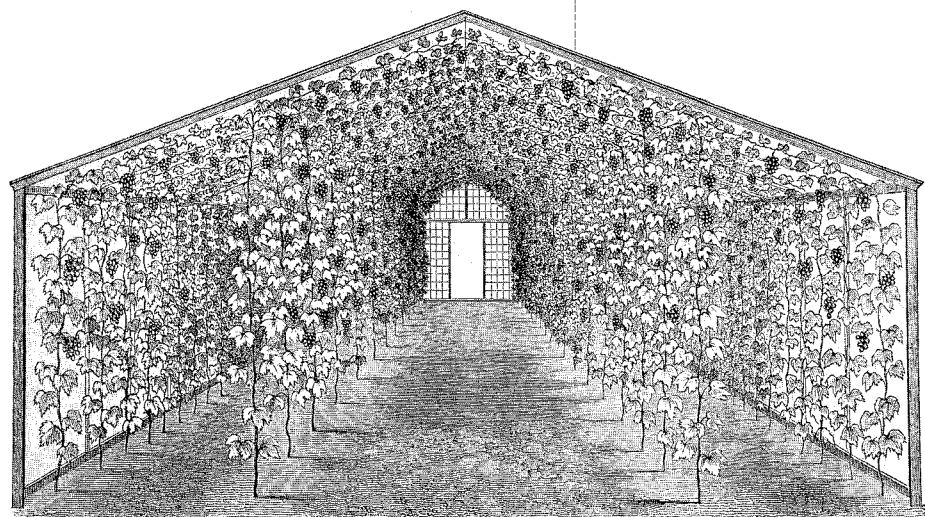


obvious pattern developed, with the leading names corresponding closely to grapes in the Prince Catalogue, in Allen’s *Treatise on the Culture of the Grape*, and in the reports of the exhibitions of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.²³

By the 1850’s the Zinfandel had even acquired a quasi-official status, for in 1858 the Agricultural Section of the Commissioner of Patents Office had listed the Zinfindal in its collections and had published a recommended list of foreign grapes, which closely resembled what we have called the standard New England collection that included the Zinfindal.²⁴ It is worth noting that in 1860 the same government office published a list of twenty-four Hungarian grapes for distribution without mentioning the Zinfandel. Two pages later, however, the report listed “foreign grapes in course of propagation” which included the New England collection and the Zinfindal. Although the Prince collection and Prince’s work would have been well known to these agricultural experts, for some reason they chose not to identify the Zinfandel as Hungarian.²⁵



New England's vinifera grape culture of the 1820's and 1830's was aimed at developing table grapes grown under glass or in heated graperies like those pictured. An important but not a favored variety was the Zinfandel. The picture (top) shows a propagating shed; the drawing (right), a hot-house interior.



The introduction of the Zinfandel into California can be described as occurring in four possible ways. The first, and certainly the most convincing, is the early and wide use of the grape by nurserymen and vineyardists operating in the Sacramento area. The most important of these was surely A. P. Smith, whose Pomological Gardens on the American River three miles north of the town brought consistent plaudits from visitors. The name Zinfandel (spelled "Zeinfeldall") first appeared in official California records reporting Smith's exhibition of the grape at the State Fair in 1858. His nursery operation regularly won premiums in the state's early agricultural competitions, particularly his displays of foreign grapes.²⁶

According to historian Robert Thompson, Smith acquired his Zinfandel from New Englander Wilson G. Flint, probably in 1855. As a pioneer agriculturist of the Sacramento Valley, Smith was greatly interested in the future of California grape culture,²⁷ and like many of his associates he exhibited the Zinfandel in a general

New England collection, terming it a "fine wine grape" in 1860.²⁸ Thompson also mentions D. W. Applegate, an Auburn grape grower, who had also acquired rooted cuttings from Flint. Flint apparently had ordered them from New England. The Sonoma historian further mentions another prominent nurseryman, James R. Nickerson, a man whose early experiments with the Zinfandel are well documented. Both Nickerson and Smith exhibited the grape at the State Fair in 1859, and in 1860 Smith was making a good claret from his Zinfandel.²⁹ Other pioneers of the Zinfandel in this region were Charles Covillaud of Marysville and Charles M. Weber of Stockton.³⁰ The latter first introduced the grape under its accepted name to the vintners of the San Jose area when he exhibited the Zinfandel at the 1860 Santa Clara County Fair.³¹

A second manner of introduction of the Zinfandel is also plausible if the Haraszthy chronology is overlooked. The events concern Frederick W. Macondray,

*A New England sea captain, horticulturist,
and first president of the California
Agricultural Society, Frederick W.
Macondray brought large numbers of fruit
and grape cuttings, including the
Zinfandel, from Massachusetts
in the early 1850's*



the first president of the California Agricultural Society and a New Englander who had been a long-time member of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. Macondray's name is almost solely associated with the early mercantile history of San Francisco and with the moderate faction of the city's Vigilance committees. But he was also an avid grape grower, and he brought a large collection of vines to the Bay Area aboard his sailing ship from New England.³²

Colonel James Warren, a fellow New Englander and founder of the prestigious *California Farmer*, considered Captain Macondray a giant in the establishment of California's early agriculture. Macondray's most obvious contributions in a practical area were his efforts to propagate foreign grape cuttings in the Bay Area. He established a small graperie at his home in San Francisco, but more importantly, he purchased land near San Mateo and established Baywood Farm, where he carried on the agricultural pursuits he had begun years earlier in New England.³³ For several years, Captain Macondray won almost every prize offered in the state for foreign grapes grown under glass.³⁴ His work was cut short by ill health, however, and he sold Baywood to John Parrott. When Macondray died in 1862, he was highly praised by his fellow agriculturists for his pioneer work.³⁵

Captain Macondray's Napa-Sonoma connection in the 1850's was J. W. Osborne, another New Englander and the proprietor of Oak Knoll Farm near Napa. In 1856 Oak Knoll had won the Agricultural Society's highest premium for a cultivated farm.³⁶ Osborne, too, was a leading nurseryman in the area and interested in the cultivation of foreign grapes. He was elected the first vice-president of the State Agricultural Society and, like his friend Macondray, took advantage of almost every exhibition to show off his excellent collections of foreign grape varieties. In 1857 both men entered exhibitions of foreign grapes at the Mechanics' Institute Fair in San Francisco. Each presented what amounted to a standard New England collection, and both exhibits included the

"Zinfindal." Macondray's grapes, Colonel Warren wrote, "were truly superb and reminded us of the exhibitions in which we had been engaged in former years, in the good old Bay State [Massachusetts]."³⁷

After the vintage in the fall of 1859, the Sonoma area witnessed a flurry of preparation for the spring planting which proved important for the development of the Zinfandel in California. Osborne had procured a large number of rooted cuttings from Macondray—the standard New England list, including the Zinfandel—and he sold two wagonloads to William Boggs, a skillful vineyardist and manager of the propagating garden of the newly formed Sonoma Horticultural Society.³⁸ Boggs later wrote historian Thompson that the Zinfandel "was unhurt by the frost, and grew better in the nursery than any other variety. None of us knew anything about the quality of these grapes, especially the Zinfindal, until they grew in the vineyard." (How could Boggs not have known of it, we may ask, if his neighbor Haraszthy was at that time spreading the Zinfandel throughout the state?) The next season Boggs showed the Zinfandel to General Vallejo's winemaker, Dr. Victor Fauré, who asked for and received cuttings. In 1862 Fauré produced a small amount of wine from these vines and thought it a good claret.³⁹ Vallejo, it should be noted, was to become Arpad Haraszthy's father-in-law in a few months, and the young man, recently returned



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Eighty-One Varieties

Among this splendid assortment will be found:

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Chasselas of Fromignac;
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Together with every variety of the Grape known and approved.

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The subscriber would also offer—

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RASPBERRY,
CURRANT AND
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In good assortment.

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Pear,	41	" " " "
Cherry,	22	" " " "
Plum,	15	" " " "

Also, Apricots, Nectarines, Almonds, Figs, Currants, Gooseberries, Strawberries, Grapes (foreign and native), Rose Bushes, and Shade and Ornamental Trees. Catalogues can be had at the Nursery.

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San Jose, Nov. 14, 1856. num11-4m

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100,000 Budded and Grafted

FRUIT & ORNAMENTAL TREES,
Vines, &c.,

Antoine Delmas established his San Jose nursery in 1851 and imported vinifera grapes from France and New England. He supplied the Zinfandel to General Vallejo at an early date. Pictured with him are his sons, Delphin and Joseph (right and left).

General Vallejo made good wine at his Sonoma estate, "Lachryma Montis," long before the late 1850's. His winemaker produced a good Zinfandel wine in 1862.

Advertisements for nurseries appeared in great numbers in the San Jose Telegraph in 1856. Bernard S. Fox maintained the most important nursery, and Antoine Delmas was most important for supplying grape vines.

from France to manage his father's cellars, would probably have had some contact with this series of events, at least the production of the wine. He would not necessarily have known the source of the cuttings, however, having been in Europe when Osborne sold them to Boggs.

The third probable means of introduction of the Zinfandel into California may have been the earliest, but its details are far more shrouded in confusion than the first two. There is little doubt, however, that the Zinfandel, for some time called the Black St. Peter's, was cultivated and sold in the San Jose area by Antoine Delmas. During the 1885 debate he had claimed that he first imported it in 1852. This may or may not be accurate, but by the late 1850's whatever Delmas had imported into the Santa Clara Valley was known as the Black St. Peter's. It seems reasonable to assume, however, that Delmas brought the grape from New England under this name and later confused it with grapes he brought from France.

In the 1850's San Jose was the home of a large colony of French agriculturalists and the largest concentration of major nurseries in the state. Louis Pellier, Louis Prevost, and J. B. Bontemps were but a few of the famous resident growers. The area's most important nursery belonged to Bernard S. Fox, a New Englander and the former superintendent of Hovey & Co. of Boston, one of the world's greatest nursery concerns. Fox and the others imported the standard New England collection of foreign grapes, to which were added leading French varieties directly imported by Delmas and Charles Le Franc of Almadén fame.⁴⁰ The San Jose chronology beyond these general statements remains very confused, no matter how important historically, and Charles Wetmore's orderly mind reeled at the jumble he saw in the "ampelography" of the Santa Clara Valley.

Delmas, it is known, began his nursery operation in 1851. His grape collections were unique in that they con-

In the 1850's San Jose was the home of a large colony of French agricultural specialists and the largest concentration of nurseries in the state.

tained the standard New England collection augmented by authentic varieties of the best French wine grapes, which appear in his catalogue as "Cabrunet," "Medoc," and "Black Meunier." Able to advertise 105 different foreign varieties,⁴¹ he entered most agricultural competitions and was clearly the master of the "collection" category. His name, with those of Smith, Macondray and Osborne, dominates all major grape growing competitions in California through 1860.⁴²

The process by which the Zinfandel and the Black St. Peter's became confounded in Santa Clara County will never be known. But it is significant that Delmas provided General Vallejo with the Black St. Peter's and that editor Thomas Hyatt confirmed this claim eighteen years before the great debate began.⁴³ Descriptions of the two grapes in California and New England were consistently similar.⁴⁴ Whatever the case, Delmas made a red wine in 1858 that was judged the best at the next year's State Fair. The reporting committee, however, was confused by the fact that the young claret had been made from foreign grapes which "had been selected more as table fruit than for wine making." They were Zinfandel. Within the year the *Alta California* had singled out Delmas and praised his "French claret." By the next spring the San Jose nurseryman was grafting over old Mission grape vineyards to this new grape.⁴⁵

Finally, in discussing the introduction of the Zinfandel to California, it must be acknowledged that many nurserymen, far more than mentioned here, imported the standard New England grape collection to California in the 1850's. This roster would of course include the

name of Agostín Haraszthy. When Arpad later made his claim for his father in the four-page manuscript prepared for Bancroft, he stated that the vines imported by his father to the Crystal Springs property in San Mateo County were “from *the East* and from Europe” (emphasis added). Arpad’s rigid claim that the Zinfandel was directly imported from Europe in 1852 was issued much later and with an eye to larger public consumption.

It should not be assumed that the early small success of the Zinfandel in the 1860’s made any sudden change in California wine-grape growing practices in the early decades. The Mission grape remained overwhelmingly predominant, and it continued to be used to produce a rather unstable red wine, often colored with chemicals, which brought no credit to the state’s wine industry. Growers were unwilling to rip up established vineyards and plant a new grape, because the Mission was neither unsuccessful nor unprofitable. The calls by serious connoisseurs and wine merchants for the planting of a better claret grape went generally unheeded for years after the Zinfandel’s possibilities were discovered between 1859 and 1862.

Recommendations for the Zinfandel were heard for some years before they registered with growers in the North Coast counties. In 1858 the Mechanics’ Institute Fruit Growers’ Committee, chaired by none other than J. W. Osborne, had recommended the grape for further trial. (A year later Osborne made sure that it would be given a trial in Sonoma when he sold Zinfandel cuttings to William Boggs.) At the same time in New York, the American Pomological Society also recommended the grape for general cultivation.⁴⁶

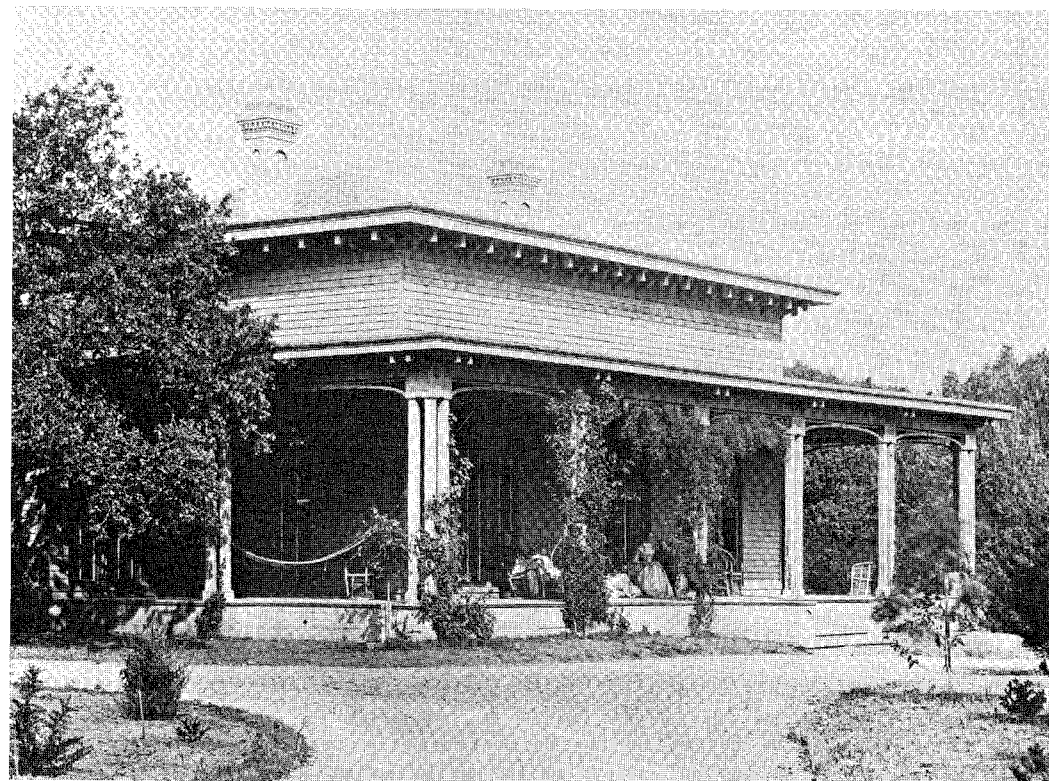
The Zinfandel grape got its first good notices in the Sacramento area after 1860. James Nickerson decided in that year that the area’s two best wine grapes were the

Catawba for whites and the “Black Zinfandel” for reds. James Marshall of Grass Valley, Charles Covillaud, Wilson Flint, and A. P. Smith had all published their praise for the grape by 1861. Colonel James Warren discovered the Zinfandel at Covillaud’s ranch in that year and praised this “rare variety” which he thought came from the Rhine Valley area in Europe.⁴⁷

By 1865 Benjamin N. Bugbey of Natomia Vineyard fame had discovered the grape and selected it as one of the five best for the future of California winemaking.⁴⁸ The movement also spread into the Sierra foothills in Tuolumne and El Dorado counties. In the latter John S. Hittell, the noted journalist and historian, was moved by the excellence of the “Zinfenthal” being made by Martin Alhoff at Coloma. A Nevada City vintner, F. Seibert, won one of the first awards given a pure Zinfandel in 1869. In the same year George West was producing the first successful “white” Zinfandel near Stockton.⁴⁹

Although Vallejo’s winemaker, Dr. Fauré, had advised Sonoma growers in 1860 to order all the Zinfandel cuttings they could, it took at least five years for their wine product to cause more than a passing interest in the Napa-Sonoma area. Interest was stirred after the 1865 vintage, however, when it was found that the quality of Mission grape wine could be greatly improved by healthy doses of Zinfandel. The *Alta California*, watchdog of the California wine industry and defender of quality, reported the following spring that in Sonoma “a grape called Zinfandel is declared to be best for producing . . . claret mixed with the native [Mission]; consequently there has been a very great demand for the cuttings.” A rush of planting occurred on the Sonoma side, and the 1866 vintage was good enough to cause some to think that this “Black Zinfandel” might even replace the Mission for making claret.⁵⁰

The following spring witnessed a heavy demand for Zinfandel cuttings in Napa and Sonoma counties. A trusted voice from the Napa side, Jacob Schram, praised



At Baywood in San Mateo County, Macondray built his home called "Brookside."

Joseph W. Osborne, a New England connection in the Zinfandel story, established Oak Knoll estate in 1851. In 1859 he secured grape cuttings from his old friend Captain Macondray and sold some to William O. Boggs of Sonoma.



OAK KNOLL NAPA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drawn & Engraved from a sketch by Joseph Lee

The Zinfandel grape was early and widely used by nurserymen and vineyardists in the Sacramento area. Growers hauled grapes to centrally located wineries like this one at Lodi.



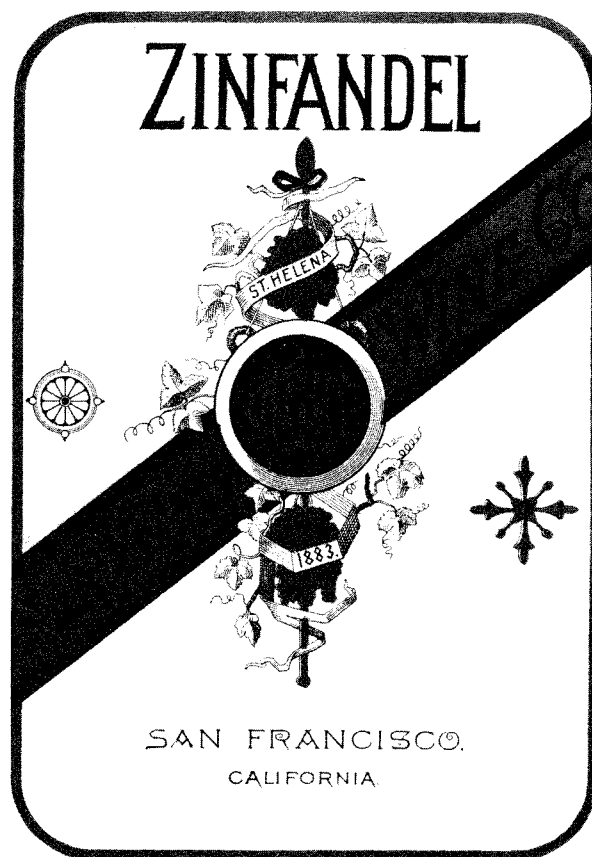
the new “Zenfenthal” as perhaps the best grape available for red wine. By the end of the 1867 season growers stampeded to buy these cuttings in the two counties, and by 1869 the grape’s reputation was firmly established in the region.⁵¹ The Mission, however, remained by far the most widely grown in the area.

In 1868 the first North Coast award for a Zinfandel was presented to Jacob R. Snyder, the pioneer Sonoma wineman, who received a silver medal at the Mechanics’ Institute Fair. The next spring even Arpad Haraszthy came out in print to recommend the grape.⁵² At this same time the first description of the flavor of Zinfandel was given by J. A. Lockwood, a St. Helena vintner, who praised it for its “delightful flavor resembling the raspberry.” But the most convincing data from the growers’ point of view were doubtless the prices quoted at the end of the 1869 season: young Zinfandel was fetching 75¢ per gallon, Sonoma Mission only 40¢.⁵³

By 1870 Northern California’s winemakers had obviously decided to improve the quality of their claret, and replacing the ubiquitous Mission was somehow understood to be a major part of the solution. At first, two grapes, the Zinfandel and the Black Malvasia, were the popular alternatives. When the great grape-planting boom hit the state in the 1880’s, the Zinfandel was quite rightly universally accepted as the future basis for California’s dry red table wine.⁵⁴

The mystery concerning the origins of the Zinfandel in California has been persistently troublesome to writers of the state’s wine history precisely because the introduction of the grape was no mystery at all. It arrived almost unnoticed and spread throughout the state with few taking note of it at the time. In the confusion of early nursery propagation, it was confounded with other grapes. That it arrived from New England as a table grape grown under glass added to the later confusion. Of course, too, the ridiculous orthography, the miscellaneous spellings in early publications, bewildered contemporary observers. Finally, it must be owned that the

Zinfandel was rarely bottled and labeled under its present name before the late 1880’s. This 1883 label from the Napa Valley Wine Company is one of the earliest extant.



“mysteries” of the origins of the Zinfandel in California were compounded by a seemingly disingenuous attempt to impose upon the documentary evidence a theory of origin that cannot be reconciled with the evidence available today.

The acceptance of the Zinfandel by California vintners owes little to any special foresight on the part of those who originally imported the grape from New England. Charles Wetmore’s conclusion that the grape’s success came from the fact that it was selected out of the chaos of foreign varieties by intelligent and experienced winemakers remains true. It took too long for the grape to be accepted, and then it was planted too widely, often

in the worst places and against the good advice of the very men who had first recommended it. In recent years Californians have had to rediscover what the early wine-makers first saw in the Zinfandel, a truly fine claret grape.

The illustrations on pages 114 and 126 are courtesy the CHS Library; on page 116, Wine Institute, San Francisco; on page 118, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; on page 119, Sonoma County Library; on page 121, G. E. Macondray; on page 125 (bottom), San Mateo County Historical Association; on page 125 (top), Napa County Library; on page 122 (top), Nelty Delmas Leffranc Horney; and on page 127, Vintage Image, St. Helena. The illustration on page 122 (bottom) is from Thompson & Co., *Atlas of Sonoma County California* (1877); on page 120 (top), Andrew S. Fuller, *The Grape Culturist* (New York, 1867) and page 120 (bottom), J. Fisk Allen, *Practical Treatise* (Boston, 1848), both courtesy The Christian Brothers Collection, Wine Museum of San Francisco; on page 122 (right), from *San Jose Telegraph*, December 9, 1856.

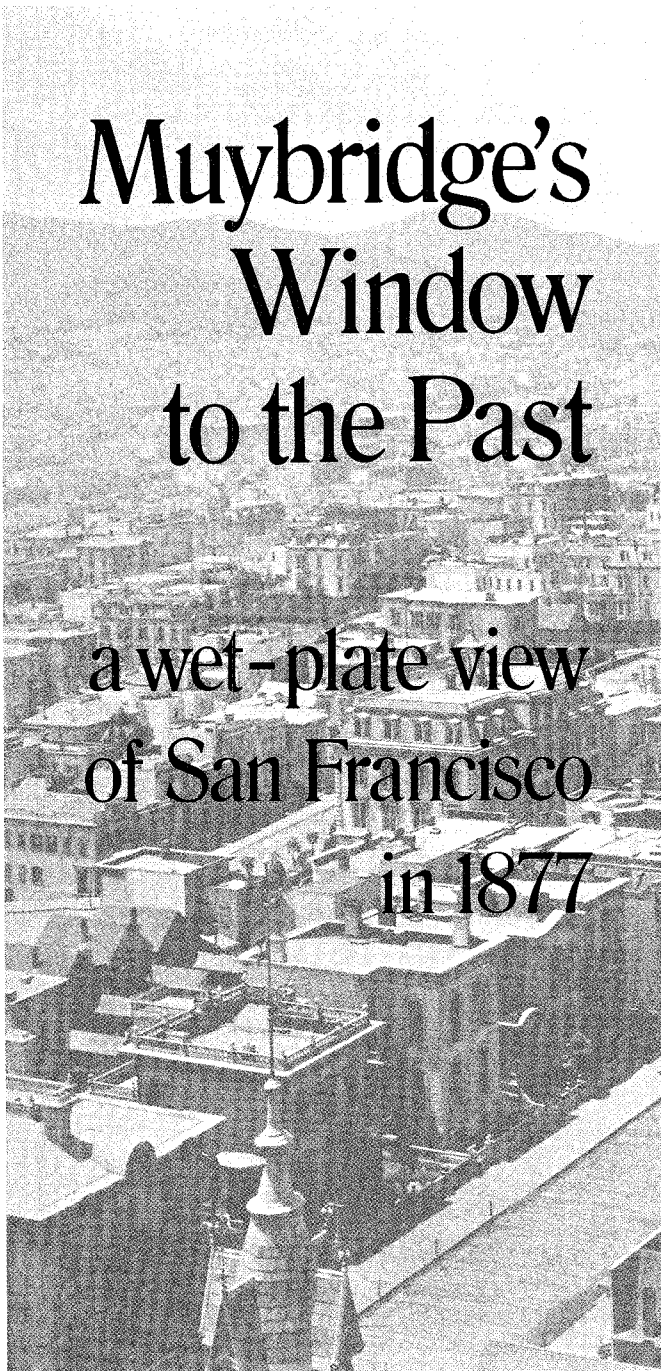
Notes

1. See Leon D. Adams, *The Wines of America* (Boston, 1973), pp. 402-04, for a brief account of the discovery of the "Primitivo di Gioia" as a possible Italian relative of the Zinfandel. Professor Harold P. Olmo of the University of California, Davis, has identified the Primitivo as a black variety "closely resembling the Zinfandel." However, he does not think this grape is of Italian origin. H. P. Olmo to author, December 18, 1975. The relationship between these two grapes has more recently been established virtually as genetic identity in a paper presented at the conference of The American Society of Enologists on June 23, 1977. W. H. Wolfe and H. P. Olmo, "Application of Isozyme 'Finger Printing' to Specific Problems of Variety Identification: Comparison of . . . Zinfandel and Primitivo di Gioia."
2. Arpad Haraszthy manuscript (1886), 4 pp., in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Arpad claims herein that his father imported the Zinfandel to his Crystal Springs nursery in San Mateo County in 1854.
3. (Hubert Howe Bancroft), "The Haraszthy Family" (San Francisco, July 1, 1886), typescript hand-corrected by Arpad Haraszthy. On page eleven of this document, Arpad has added the word "first" to this sentence: "It is now universally admitted that to Col. Haraszthy is due sole credit of the (first) introduction of foreign vines into the State of California." This is an absurd claim.
4. Arpad Haraszthy, "Early Viticulture in Sonoma," *Sonoma and Russian River Valley, Illustrated* (San Francisco, 1888), pp. 77-79. Here Arpad contradicts his previous private claim by stating that his father imported the Zinfandel directly from Hungary while in San Diego in 1852.
5. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886), VII: 46-47; Paul Fredericksen, "The Authentic Haraszthy Story," an historical research project by the Wine Institute for the Wine Advisory Board, reprinted from *Wines and Vines* (San Francisco, 1947), pp. 3-5; Frank Schoonmaker and Tom Marvel, *American Wines* (New York, 1941), pp. 63-64, 145-46.
6. Haraszthy, "Early Viticulture," 77-78.
7. *Transactions of the California State Agricultural Society during the Year 1858* (Sacramento, 1859), pp. 242-46, 311-329. (Cited hereafter as *Agric. Soc.*)
8. *Agric. Soc.*, 1860, pp. 78-79.
9. *Agric. Soc.*, 1859, p. 270; *Alta California* (San Francisco), November 21, 1868. Haraszthy called the grape the "Monese." Another Sonoma winemaker spelled it "Menési."
10. *First Annual Report of the Board of State Viticultural Commissioners*, Second Edition—Revised (Sacramento, 1881), pp. 184-88.
11. *Alta California*, October 1, 1864.
12. T. Hart Hyatt, *Hyatt's Hand Book of Grape Culture* (San Francisco, 1876), pp. 159, 162, 210.
13. "The Haraszthy Family," pp. 24-27; Arpad Haraszthy to James L. L. Warren, April 30 through December 1, 1861, ten letters to the editor of the *California Farmer* in the James L. L. Warren Papers, Box 14, Bancroft Library.
14. *First Annual Report of the Board of State Viticultural Commissioners*, Second Edition—Revised (Sacramento, 1881), pp. 45, 54, 65.
15. *Second Annual Report of the Chief Executive Viticultural Officer to the Board of State Viticultural Commissioners, for the Years 1882-3 and 1883-4* (Sacramento, 1884), pp. 37, 105, 117.
16. *San Francisco Merchant* (*Pacific Wine and Spirit Review*), January 4, 1884.
17. *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 1, 1885; *Santa Rosa Press-Democrat*, August 5, 1903.
18. *San Jose Daily Herald*, May 20, 1885.
19. *San Jose Daily Herald*, May 28, 1885; *San Francisco Merchant*, July 3, 1885, pp. 82-83.
20. William Robert Prince, *Treatise on the Vine* (New York, 1830), p. 343; Leon Adams to author, November 29, 1975.
21. *Transactions of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society* (Boston, 1834), p. 22; (1839), p. 29.
22. *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 1, 1885; J. Fiske Allen, *A Practical Treatise on the Culture and Treatment of the Grape Vine* (Boston, 1848), pp. 67, 94, 110, 114. These pages refer to the less common "2nd Edition, Enlarged," published by Dutton & Wentworth. The "Third Edition—Enlarged and Revised" was published in 1855 in New York by C. M. Saxton & Com-

- pany. The equivalent pagination is: 88, 123, 144, 297. See also pages 300-02, 308. For details of the proceedings of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, the author is indebted to Charles E. Olken, letter to author, August 22, 1975.
23. The standard New England list would include: Black Hamburg, White Frontignan, Muscat of Alexandria, Grizzly Frontignan, Cannon Hall Muscat, Golden Chasselas, Black St. Peter's, White Malvasia, Black Prince, Sweetwater and Syrian, mostly table grapes, but some capable of producing good wine. To this list should be added, occasionally, the "Zinfindal."
24. *Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1858* (Washington, 1859), pp. 422-24.
25. *Commissioner of Patents*, 1860, pp. 30-32.
26. *California Farmer* (San Francisco), June 15, 1854; *Alta California*, October 12, 1856; September 28, 1857; September 1, 1858; *Sacramento Bee*, September 29, 1857; August 31, 1858; *Agric. Soc.*, 1858, pp. 98-99.
27. *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 1, 1885; Wilson G. Flint, "Grape Culture in the United States," in the *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1863* (Washington, 1863), pp. 147-158.
28. *Agric. Soc.*, 1860, p. 306.
29. *Agric. Soc.*, 1859, pp. 223, 415; *Agric. Soc.*, 1860, pp. 55-56, 60. Surely some typesetting goblin was at work whenever the spelling of "Zinfandel" came up in these government publications. Zeinfindall, Tinfandel, Linfandel, and Finfandel are obviously variants of the standard New England spelling. Years later we find the same sprite at work in a paper by Prof. E. W. Hilgard: "Yinfandel." *Commissioner of Agriculture*, 1878, p. 504.
30. *Agric. Soc.*, 1858, pp. 168-69; *Alta California*, September 1, 1858; *California Farmer*, November 30, 1860, p. 108.
31. *California Farmer*, October 26, 1860, p. 65.
32. *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 1, 1885; *Macondray & Co., Inc. One Hundredth Anniversary* (San Francisco, 1948); Charles E. Olken (Boston, Mass.) to author, August 22, 1975.
33. *California Farmer*, January 5, 1854, pp. 1-2; September 14, 1854, p. 99; *Agric. Soc.*, 1858, p. 251.
34. *California Farmer*, October 19, 1854, p. 121; October 9, 1859, p. 97; October 8, 1858, p. 74; *Alta California*, October 10, 1856; September 28, 1857; October 2, 1857; October 6, 1858; September 9, 1859; *San Jose Telegraph*, October 21, 1856.
35. *Alta California*, August 11, 1860; Frederick W. Macondray, Jr. Letterbook, 1859-1860 (Bancroft Library), letters for September 3, 1859, October 11, 1859, February 3, 1860. For Col. Warren's obituary of Macondray, see *California Farmer*, August 1, 1862, p. 148.
36. *San Jose Telegraph*, October 21, 1856; *Agric. Soc.*, 1858, p. 241.
37. *California Farmer*, September 18, 1857, p. 73; *Alta California*, September 28, 1857; October 6, 1858; October 6, 1860. Osborne never defeated Macondray in head-to-head competition.
38. Boggs' vineyard was judged best in Sonoma County the following year. *Sonoma County Democrat*, October 3, 1861.
39. *San Francisco Evening Bulletin*, May 1, 1885; *California Wine, Wool, and Stock Journal* (San Francisco), 1 (June, 1863): 107-09.
40. *California Farmer*, June 8, 1854; September 14, 1854; August 8, 1856; *San Jose Telegraph*, December 9, 1856.
41. *Agric. Soc.*, 1858, pp. 257-58; *San Jose Telegraph*, December 9, 1856; May 19, 1857; November 10, 1858; *Alta California*, December 9, 1861.
42. *California Farmer*, October 17, 1855, pp. 124-25; October 8, 1858, p. 74; *San Jose Telegraph*, October 21, 1856; October 14, 1857; October 26, 1859; *Alta California*, October 6, 1858; September 8, 11, 25, and 27, 1859; October 27, 1859; October 6 and 11, 1860.
43. *San Francisco Merchant*, July 3, 1885, pp. 82-83; *San Jose Telegraph*, October 14, 1857; October 26, 1859.
44. Hyatt, *Hand Book of Grape Culture*, 159, 210; Prince, *Treatise on the Vine*, 338; Allen, *A Practical Treatise*, third edition, 308, 311.
45. *Agric. Soc.*, 1859, p. 303; *Alta California*, August 14, 1860.
46. *San Jose Telegraph*, September 15, 1858; *Commissioner of Patents*, 1858, pp. 422-24.
47. *Agric. Soc.*, 1860, pp. 63-67, 306, 315; *California Farmer*, September 27, 1861, p. 18. For Col. Warren's position in early California agriculture, see Walton E. Bean, "James Warren and the Beginnings of Agricultural Institutions in California," *Pacific Historical Review*, XIII (December, 1944): 361-75.
48. *Agric. Soc.*, 1866 and 1867, pp. 535-40.
49. *Agric. Soc.*, 1864 and 1865, p. 217; 1870 and 1871, pp. 293-99, 505-06; *Alta California*, July 12, 1867; August 19, 1867; October 10, 1869.
50. *Alta California*, March 26, 1866; *Agric. Soc.*, 1866 and 1867, pp. 535-540.
51. *Alta California*, May 6 and 13, 1867; August 19, 1867; January 20, 1868; *Sonoma Democrat*, May 28, 1870.
52. *Alta California*, September 9, 1868; March 9, 1869. Some years earlier Arpad Haraszthy had written a series of articles for the *California Wine, Wool, and Stock Journal*, a short-lived journal (June, 1863-September, 1864) published by Col. Warren's son, John Quincy Adams Warren. In this series Arpad included articles recommending various grape types for many purposes. In the April number he recommended several foreign grapes for white wines, including the Riesling, Chardonnay, Sauvignon Blanc, and Semillon. The next issue would have included his recommendation for red wine grapes. It is missing from both known collections of this rare periodical. It is particularly curious that it should be missing from the Bancroft collection because it was made up of Arpad's personal copies.
53. *Agric. Soc.*, 1870 and 1871, pp. 507-11; *Alta California*, December 6, 1869.
54. *Alta California*, January 20, 1870; February 15, 1871.

Muybridge's Window to the Past

a wet-plate view
of San Francisco
in 1877

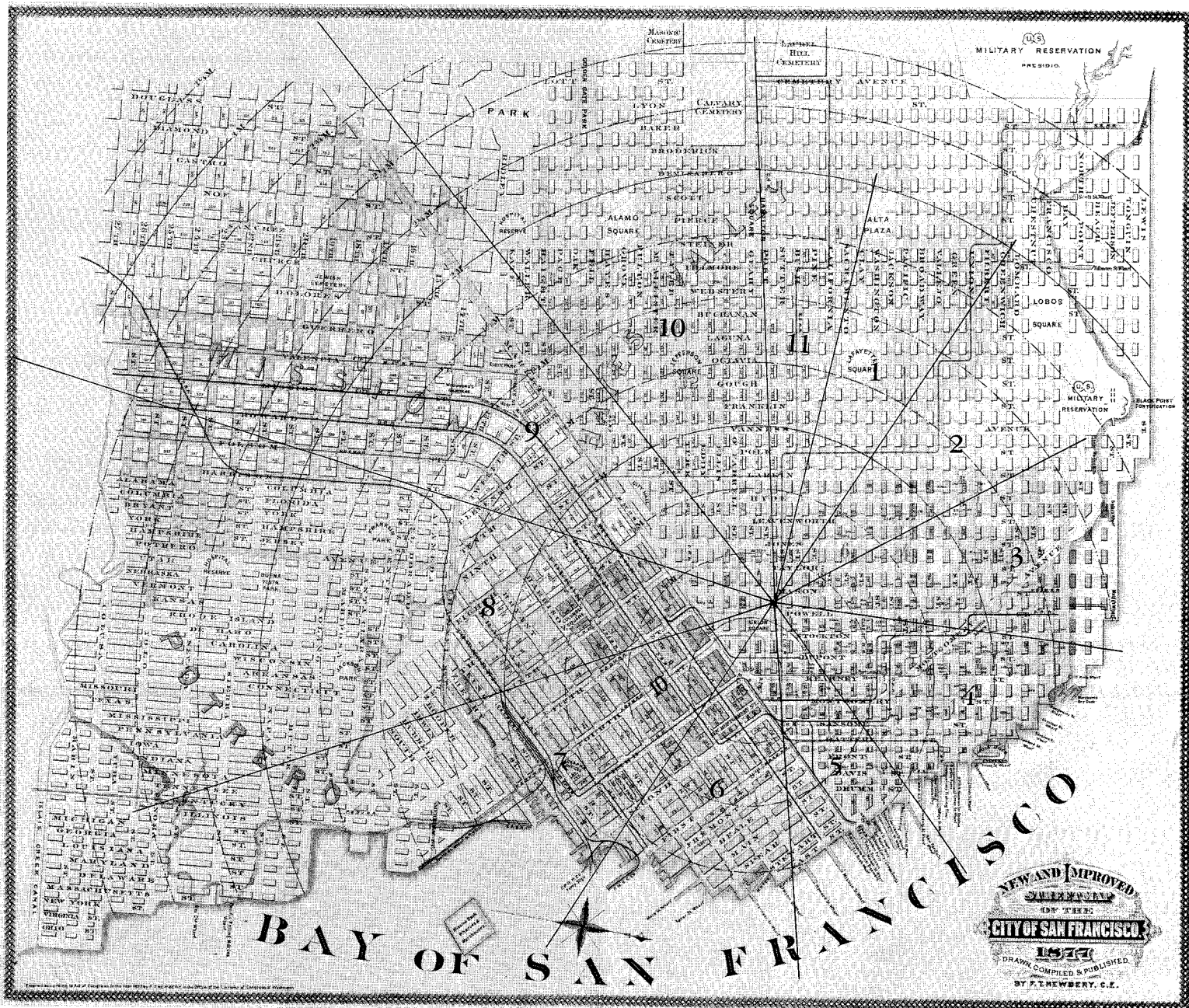


In the 1870s, thousands of men across the country were experimenting with the relatively new art form of collodion wet-plate photography which had been developed in 1851. One such investigator, Eadweard Muybridge, who billed himself as a "landscape, marine, architectural, and engineering photographer," put together a series of closely matched wet-plate photographs in 1877 to produce the first 360° view of youthful San Francisco. His work, sold for its artistic value in the last century, provides today's scholars with a remarkable document recorded by a faithful witness—the camera. This marvelous view of San Francisco in June, 1877, shows the city as experienced by many of the people who became the legends, stories, and history of the city.

The first public announcement of the panorama, which was produced from glass negatives, each approximately 8" x 10", appeared in a short article in the *San Francisco Call-Bulletin* on July 13, 1877. The so-called wet-plate process was a bothersome and ungainly technique requiring each glass negative to be sensitized with a solution of silver nitrate, exposed while wet, developed, and dried within an hour. Muybridge successfully met the challenge and advertised his completed work in the *San Francisco Chronicle's* Fine Arts column, offering the eight-foot-long panorama in book form, or rolled, suitable for framing, for \$10 gold.¹ Panoramas of San Francisco of a less complex fashion had been produced since the Gold Rush days, but never one of such grand size and perfectly matched plates. The eleven-panel original (in the collection of the California Historical Society Library), from which this reproduction was made, was a gift from the photographer to his patron, Leland Stanford.

Thirty years after the gold rush and twenty years after the Nevada silver rush, San Francisco was the home of millionaires, struggling labor unions, and rugged men

¹The author is a graduate student at San Francisco State University with special interests in San Francisco and photo history.



From his vantage point on the California Street hill, Muybridge divided the city into eleven sections for his panorama.

1. Golden Gate
2. Presidio
3. Charles Crocker
4. D. D. Colton
5. George A. Hill
6. H. H. Noble
7. N. Yung
8. A. E. Head
9. Mt. Tamalpais
10. Sausalito
11. Richardson's Bay
12. A. Ebbetts
13. Rev. W. H. Platt
14. Black Point
15. H. L. Davis
16. Wm. T. Coleman
17. J. G. Haggin
18. George W. Beaver
19. Lloyd Tevis
20. Russian Hill
21. Angel Island
22. Alcatraz Island
23. Red Rock
- 23A. Sacramento Route
24. Meigs's Wharf
- 24A. North Beach
- 24B. Toland Medical College
- 24C. Home for Inebriates
25. Broadway
26. Colored Church
27. Methodist E. Church
28. First brick house in S.F.
29. German Church
30. Telegraph Hill
31. Telegraph Hill School
32. St. Francis Church
33. County Jail
34. Harry Meiggs
35. Commercial Hotel
36. First Presbyterian Church
37. High School
38. David Porter
39. Spring Valley Reservoir
40. Berkeley
41. Goat Island
42. Fog Bell
43. Temescal
44. C.P.R.R. Co. Oakland Wharf
45. P.C.S.S. Co. Wharf
- 45A. S.F. & N.P. Co. Wharf
46. Cal. Pac. Ry. Co. Wharf
47. N.P.C. Ry. Co. Wharf
48. C.P.R. Oakland Ferry
49. Post Office and Custom House
50. Appraiser's Bldg.
51. U.S. Courts
52. Bethel Church
53. International Hotel
54. City Hall
55. Cal. Supreme Court
56. Montgomery Block
57. Sherman's Block
58. Natick Block
- 58A. S.F. Bulletin and S.F. Call
59. U.S. Treasury
60. Rothschild's Bank
61. S.F. Chronicle & S.F. Post
62. Donahoe and Kelly Bank
- 62A. Norse Gallery
63. Wells Fargo Co.
64. Alaska Com. Co.
65. Bank of California
66. London S.F. Bank
67. Express Building
- 67A. Union Club
68. California and Market Streets
69. Commercial Block
70. Hayward Building
71. Merchants Exchange
72. Safe Deposit Block
73. Stevenson's Block
74. Odd Fellows Hall
75. California Market
76. Alta California
77. Oakland
78. Lumber Wharves
79. Oregon S.S. Co. Wharf
80. Murphy & Grant Building
81. Brooklyn Hotel
82. Mercantile Hotel
83. S.F. Stock Exchange
84. Nevada Block
- 84A. Nevada Bank
85. Bohemian Club
86. Art Association
87. Real Estate Association
88. Pacific Stock Exchange
89. Cosmopolitan Hotel
90. Chinese Quarter
91. Barbary Coast
92. Michael Reese
93. Leland Stanford Stable
94. Alec Bedlam
95. St. Mary's Cathedral
96. Grace Cathedral
97. J. Barron
98. Russ House
99. Alameda
100. Rincon Poor House
101. Shot Tower
102. Machine Shops & Mills
103. S.F. Gas Works
104. Union Foundry
- 104A. Golden Gate Mills
105. Belden Block
106. Head and Morton Block
107. Occidental Hotel
108. D. O. Mills Block
109. Masonic Hall
110. Thurlow Block
111. Academy Building
112. Platt's Hall
113. Pacific Hall
114. California Theater
115. Sam Wilson
116. Leland Stanford Residence
117. Grand Hotel
- 117A. White House
118. Morton House
119. Palace Hotel
120. P.M.S.S. Wharf
- 120A. J. B. Roberts
- 120B. W. A. Piper
121. John Parrott
- 120D. Milton S. Latham
121. S. Mary's Hospital
122. Mission Rock Wharf
123. C.P.R.R. Offices
124. Methodist Church
125. Nucleus Hotel
126. Centre Market
127. Girls' High School
128. Dashway Hall
129. Union Hall
130. Southern Pacific Railway
131. St. Patrick's Church
132. Bancroft Block
133. Starr King Church
134. Jewish Synagogue
135. Grand Opera House
136. Mechanic's Institute
137. Colored Church
138. Hamman Baths
139. Red Men's Hall
140. Horticultural Hall
141. Hunters' Point Drydock
142. South S.F.
143. Rolling Mills
144. Mission Bay
145. Sugar Refinery
146. Catholic Orphan Ass'n.
147. Gold & Silver Refinery
148. Lincoln School
149. U.S. Mint
150. Baldwin Hotel & Theater
- 150A. St. Ignatius College
151. St. Anne's Block
152. Trinity Church
- 152A. Military Div. of Pac.
153. German Church
154. Union Square
155. Calvary Church
156. Union St. Baptist Church
157. Dr. Stone's Church
158. Lutheran Church
159. W. S. O'Brien
160. San Miguel Mountains
161. Bernal Heights
162. Industrial School
163. Mission
164. Industrial Pavilion
165. Hall of Records
166. New City Hall
- 166A. Woodward's Garden
167. Tabernacle
168. First Baptist Church
169. Convent Sacred Heart
170. Presbyterian Church
171. Congdon's Block
172. J. C. Duncan
173. Post St. Synagogue
174. H. Barilhet
175. Dr. Scott's Church
176. Geo. S. Ladd
177. L. S. Adams
178. Eugene Sullivan
179. D. J. O'Leary
180. Mission Hills
181. Protestant Orphan Asylum
182. Jesuit College
183. Robt. C. Johnson
184. McAllister St. School
185. J. W. Burling
186. Ben Peart
187. I. M. Sachs
188. Levi Strauss
189. Mark Hopkins
190. Thos. Young
191. James Otis
192. D. J. Tallant
193. Horace Davis
194. Thos. Brown
195. Com. O'Sullivan
196. C. Adolphe Low
197. Ladies Protection Relief
198. Catholic Cemetery
199. Lone Mountain
200. Hyde St. School
201. Fred McCrellish
202. F. H. Woods
203. J. R. Jarboe
204. W. H. Richards
205. Geo. Barstow
206. A. Borel
207. Gen'l Hawes
208. W. W. Shaw
209. D. Cook
210. Robt. Morrow
211. E. F. Hall
212. Laurel Hill Cemetery
213. E. J. Baldwin
214. O. F. Griffin
215. John Taylor
216. G. B. Knowles
217. R. Tobin
218. W. W. Higgins
219. L. B. Benchley
220. Denman School
221. Mark Hopkins





PANORAMA OF SAN FRANCISCO

CALIFORNIA-STREET HILL

KEY.

MUYBRIDGE

LANDSCAPE, MARINE, ARCHITECTURAL, AND ENGINEERING
PHOTOGRAPHER.

OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHER
of the
U. S. GOVERNMENT

GRAND PRIZE MEDALIST
at the
VIENNA EXHIBITION, 1873.

Reproductions of Paintings, Drawings and Art Manufactures

PHOTOGRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS

of Alaska, California, Mexico, Central America and the Islands of the Pacific.

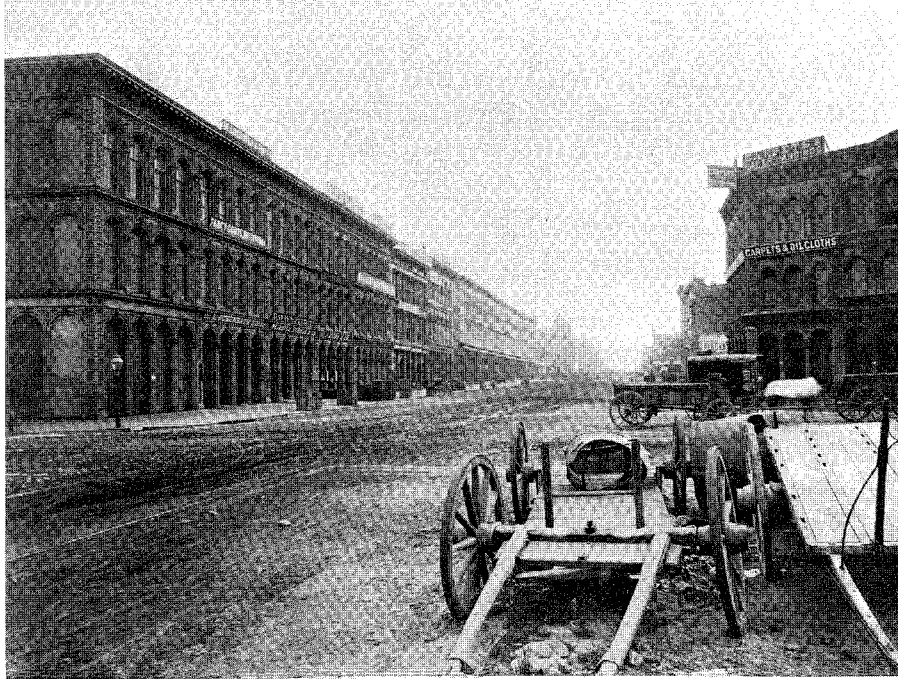
Views photographed while running in motion at full speed.

MORSE'S GALLERY

417 Montgomery Street

Copyright 1873 by Muybridge





Muybridge photographed Market Street which was rapidly becoming the city's main commercial artery.

and women trying to make their fortunes, as well as derelicts who still hoped that overnight success was possible in the city that had blessed so many. The year 1877 was a hard one, with weekly suicides noted in the newspapers, but San Franciscans of indomitable spirit kept on building toward their golden dream. This was the city whose surface Muybridge captured a century ago, a city of flamboyant architecture, Darwinian power struggles, and expansive hopes. In the 1850's a man had been measured by his ability, how he used his brain, and a social Darwinism in which the strongest became the wealthiest without class distinction, but by the 1870's social orders were well established, and wealth determined status and capacity to fulfill private fancies.

For those who had made their fortunes, there was no limit to what money could buy. The wealthy, who chose Rincon Hill in the fifties and sixties, now built grand mansions on the California Street Hill such as the Italianate villa of David Colton, (Plate 1:8/9), a white, wood

imitation of a marble palazzo, with Corinthian pilasters and pediments on each window.

(Throughout this article a system of horizontal and vertical coordinates identifies buildings and objects under discussion on the eleven-plate 1877 panorama. For example, to find the Colton villa at "Plate 1:8/9," turn to Plate 1 and intersect a line drawn through 8 on the horizontal scale with a line through 9 on the vertical scale. The numbers refer to centimeter distances on the original panorama. Muybridge's key, reproduced on pages 132-133, will also be of assistance in locating sites.)

The mood of the builders of the seventies is most marked by the yet-unfinished Crocker mansion (Plate 1:4/12), in front of which we can see the contractors working on the granite fence, wide stairs, and freshly terraced grounds of this mansarded monument to successful railroad building. On the northeast corner of Crocker's lot, between the Colton and Crocker manses, is a strange board structure that came to be known as the

Spite Fence in one of San Francisco's most bizarre imbroglios.

When Charles Crocker was buying up the Jones-Sacramento-Taylor-California block on which he planned to build, only one man refused to sell. Nicholas Yung, a partner in the Craig, Golden and Yung Funeral Parlor, had bought the lot on Sacramento in the '50's, and built a small pleasant home in the '60's. At the time he had few neighbors because the steep access quickly tired carriage horses. By 1876, however, he held a piece of property that even Charles Crocker coveted. When Crocker offered Yung \$6,000 or a property trade, he countered with a \$9,000 demand. Crocker finally agreed to the \$9,000 price, but Yung then insisted that he never asked less than \$12,000.² Warning Yung against raising his price Crocker threatened to build a forty-foot-tall fence around Yung's home. Understandably, Yung felt he had the right to ask a larger amount, knowing that Crocker could well afford the price. Crocker, however, believed the \$12,000 price absurd, so he erected a \$3,000 fence, closed off the Yungs' view of the city on three sides—as well as light and air—and gave newspaper editors and cartoonists good material for months.³ San Francisco chuckled at first, but the humor disappeared in the fall of 1877 when labor leader Dennis Kearney led a mob to the fence for a rally. There the "Cicero of the Sandlots" attacked the Central Pacific Railroad leaders and other industrialists for importing cheap Chinese labor and denounced Crocker, pointing out that the fence was just one more affront to the poor, an example of how far the rich would go. Kearney gave Crocker thirty days to tear down the fence, threatening that on Thanksgiving Day workmen would march up Nob Hill and remove it themselves. The mob never made good on the threat.⁴

The fence stayed, and Yung moved his house to a lot on Broderick. In an interview he claimed that he still considered himself "good friends" with Crocker but that Crocker "thought he was going to have his own way

because he was Charles Crocker, but money was no object to me so we couldn't agree." He concluded that the lot was not for sale "at any price."⁵ Crocker later lowered the lavender-color fence to twenty feet to keep it from being knocked over by high winds, but both Yung and Crocker died without resolving the fence. Mrs. Rosina Yung sold the lot to a realtor in 1894,⁶ but the fence remained until the turn of the century. The Crocker family eventually acquired the lot and donated the entire block, which had been leveled by the fire and earthquake of 1906, to Grace Cathedral which today covers the ground once occupied by one of San Francisco's most splendid residences.

The seventies saw many new-money families build on the California Street Hill, as men met with overnight financial success and wished to express it in their homes. San Francisco always seemed just a step away from another millionaire, but only the cleverest of the entrepreneurs stayed rich. Most made and lost fortunes in mining speculation on the Comstock.

San Francisco, the second home of many of Virginia City's residents, was as closely tied to Nevada silver production in the seventies as to gold placers in the fifties. One journalist visiting the city was struck by the profusion of get-rich-quick schemes, real estate deals, and, above all, trade of Comstock shares. Seemingly everyone from bankers to waitresses bought stock and expectantly watched the daily papers in hopes of finding the signal to buy or sell which would score a financial coup. The correspondent noted that even a shoeshine boy wanted to check his paper for a stock quotation on a Nevada mining company.⁷

Because of the speculative nature of the mining business, the silver barons began a step down on the social pyramid from the railroad society, a group which was second only to the McLanes, Hagginses, and Tevises.⁸ The Palace Hotel (Plate 7:120/11), complete with its "rising rooms" or elevators, was built by bonanza-king William Ralston through his position at the Bank of

California, and the hostelry exemplifies the kind of luxury to which wealthy San Franciscans were becoming accustomed. By the 1870's silver kings were buying their way into society at such a rate that when Ralston drowned on Black Friday, the day his bank failed, the entire city mourned his loss.

When Muybridge published the panorama in July of 1877, a scandal was breaking at the United States Mint (Plate 8:148/12) concerning the disappearance of large quantities of precious metal and the minting of underweight coins. Westerners shunned the greenbacks, merchants preferring double eagles and silver dollars to the easy-to-pilfer bills.⁹

San Francisco offered the widest choice of entertainment and pleasure palaces in which to spend the proceeds of innumerable professions, from the Palace Hotel, the temporary abode of kings and millionaires, to the unparalleled Barbary Coast (Plate 4:68-70/10-9), with its world-famous saloons, dives, bagnios, opium dens, and melodeons. Described in eastern papers as a sink of moral pollution, the Barbary Coast was reputedly the "haunt of the low and vile of every kind." "Dancehalls and concert-saloons, where bleary-eyed men and faded women drink vile liquor, smoke offensive tobacco, engage in vulgar conduct, sing obscene songs and say and do everything to heap upon themselves more degradation,"¹⁰ were condemned often and vociferously. In typical Victorian fashion, San Franciscans passed legislation to control the vice but winked at half-hearted attempts to enforce the laws. By the seventies, in fact, the cream of society sought the night life in brothels and gaming houses of the Upper Tenderloin (Plates 7 and 8), thereby reserving the Barbary Coast for the working-class, tourists, and thrill-seekers.

A city ordinance passed in 1876 forbade the presence of any female in a drinking cellar or saloon between the hours of 6 P.M. and 6 A.M. The law was ineffective, if it ever intended to be enforced, and the melodeons and saloons of the Barbary Coast ran unchecked. Certainly,

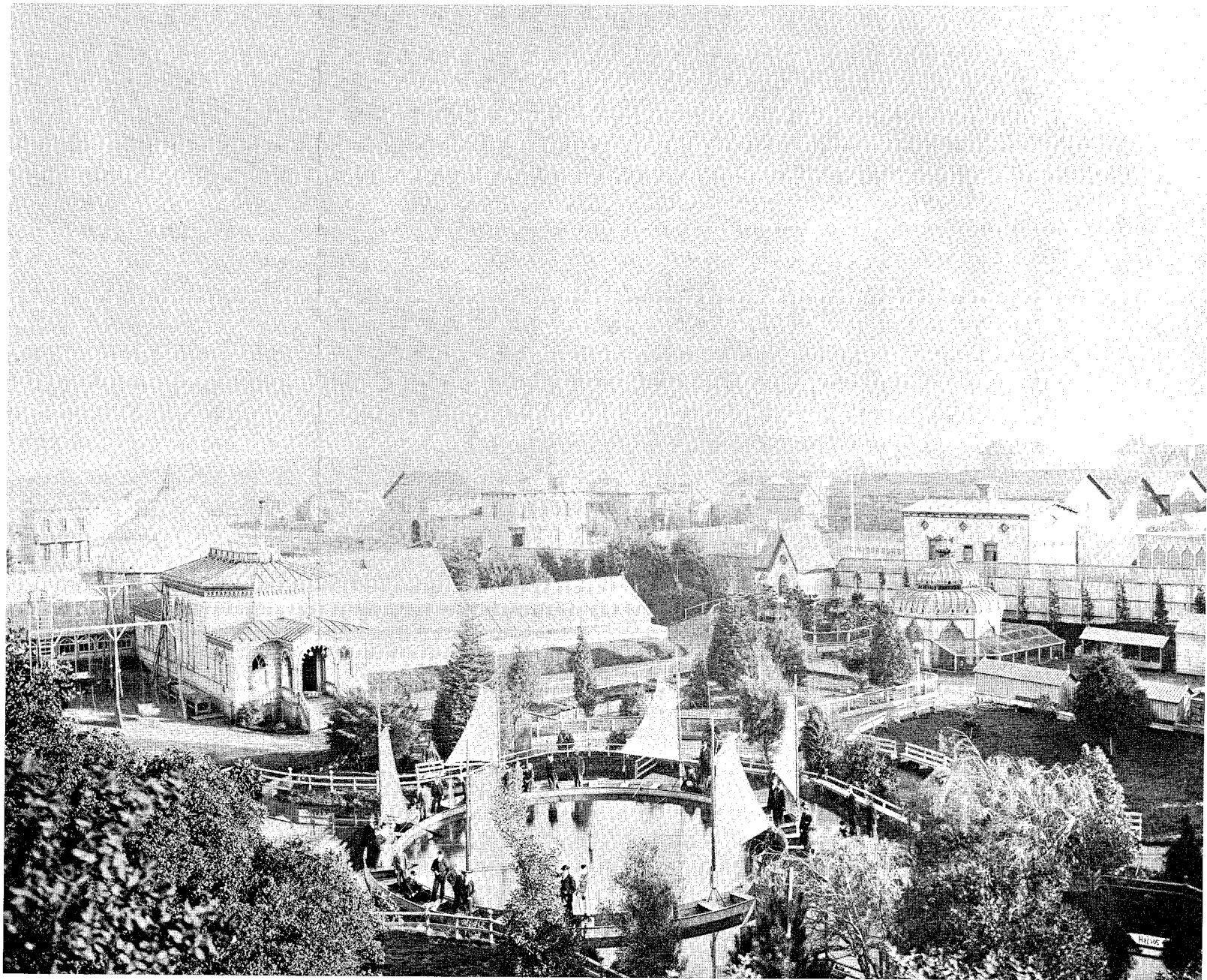
too, the law was not meant to apply outside the limits of the Barbary Coast. When a hapless policeman made the mistake of raiding the high-class Tivoli Gardens and arresting a number of ladies, he found himself the target of a full investigation by the police commission for insulting the ladies involved.¹¹

Newspaper editors of the 1870's regularly denounced the heinous crimes found on the Barbary Coast. Editorial campaigns against many forms of Victorian lowlife sometimes resulted in suits for libel, but an editor more often had to defend himself physically, as when Charles de Young was attacked at Leidesdorff and Clay by one John Duane because of an article referring to Duane as a "squatter" (one who would even commit murder for money.)¹²

Readers in 1877 eagerly waited publication of their favorite tabloid to find the latest gossip news and fashion notes. The ladies' section of the Sunday paper offered advice on how to be a gracious belle, and letters to the paper reflected a concern among ladies regarding whether or not an intellectual and opinionated young woman could be socially acceptable to eligible bachelors. Lace mitts which matched ladies' dresses were in vogue in 1877, but, while newspapers offered suggestions on how to clean the multibuttoned gloves, humorists suggested that gloves ought to be selected to match the color of the food to be eaten rather than the dress to be worn.¹³

Monday was the traditional wash day in San Francisco, and numerous houses in the Muybridge panorama display laundry hanging out to dry. The photographer, in fact, caught a woman taking down the wash on the back porch of a home on the southwest corner of Sacramento and Cushman streets (Plate 2:20/9). She is one of the few people that appear in the panorama since the relatively long exposure time required of the plates (about 6 seconds) made anyone who moved appear as a blur or disappear altogether.

With Alcatraz Island (Plate 3:43/14) and its military post in the distance, San Francisco in 1877 still evidenced



Muybridge posed a group of Sunday pleasure seekers at the sailboat ride in Woodward's fantastic gardens.



Muybridge photographed himself "dozing" in the art gallery at Woodward's Gardens on Mission Street between Thirteenth and Fourteenth.

its recent rural past. In the foreground of Plate 3, a half-dozen cows and chickens are kept in a corral on California near Mason. Everyone, of course, kept their horses in the basement, but in 1877 the future site of the Fairmont Hotel was a milk farm, and agrarian America still rubbed shoulders with millionaires, even on Nob Hill.

That railroad barons unabashedly demonstrated their wealth can be evidenced by Leland Stanford's stables (Plate 5:82/2) which were bigger than most houses. As each residence arose grander than the last, the California Street Hill became a showplace of Victorian architecture. The Stanford house chimney (Plate 6, foreground) is barely visible from the unfinished tower of the Hopkins residence where Muybridge stood to photograph the panorama. In front of the Hopkins house on California Street (Plates 1 and 2), workmen obligingly paused amid the construction rubble while Muybridge exposed his plate.

Looking down California Street, the California Pacific Railroad wharf on San Francisco Bay (Plate 5:88/12) is

framed out to accommodate an addition, expansion necessary to accommodate its merger with the Northern Railway. The docks are lined with river steamers and ferries, mostly sidewheelers that plied the Bay and river in an era that depended on shipping for connections with other Bay cities.

Looking around the city we see that saloons, corner markets, and liquor stores abound in 1877, and many a young man was sent to the corner saloon carrying a bucket for father's evening beer ration. On Market Street, which was rapidly becoming the city's main commercial artery, business signs show the prosperity of a variety of enterprises despite the panic of 1873 and bank failures of 1875 which had wiped out a number of older businesses.

Beyond the new Hall of Records and City Hall under construction (Plate 9:168/13) lies Woodward's Gardens. An entertainment center for all classes of San Franciscans, the garden boasted, among other attractions, a roller skating rink. When roller skating was first introduced, it was looked on as improper, but with Lilly Hitchcock Coit leading the way, San Francisco's finest soon followed suit. By 1877 even the best of society crowded the rinks, men and women alike.¹⁴

This first venture by Eadweard Muybridge to capture panoramic San Francisco also reveals remarkable detail of period architecture (see Plates 9 and 10). Italianate row houses, mansarded roofs, iron cresting, and palm trees, for example, seem to be popular along Pine and Bush, west of Powell. The plates also reveal a conformity of architecture (and absence of skyscrapers) that is striking to the modern viewer. The wood frame houses of the fifties have been replaced by the more substantial row houses, and as the seventies progressed, more elaborate Victorian stick-style and Italianate houses appeared everywhere. Empty lots such as the one at the corner of Taylor and Pine (Plate 10:192/8) were a constant source of annoyance to residents because drift sand blew off and accumulated on the door steps and sidewalks.

Plate I

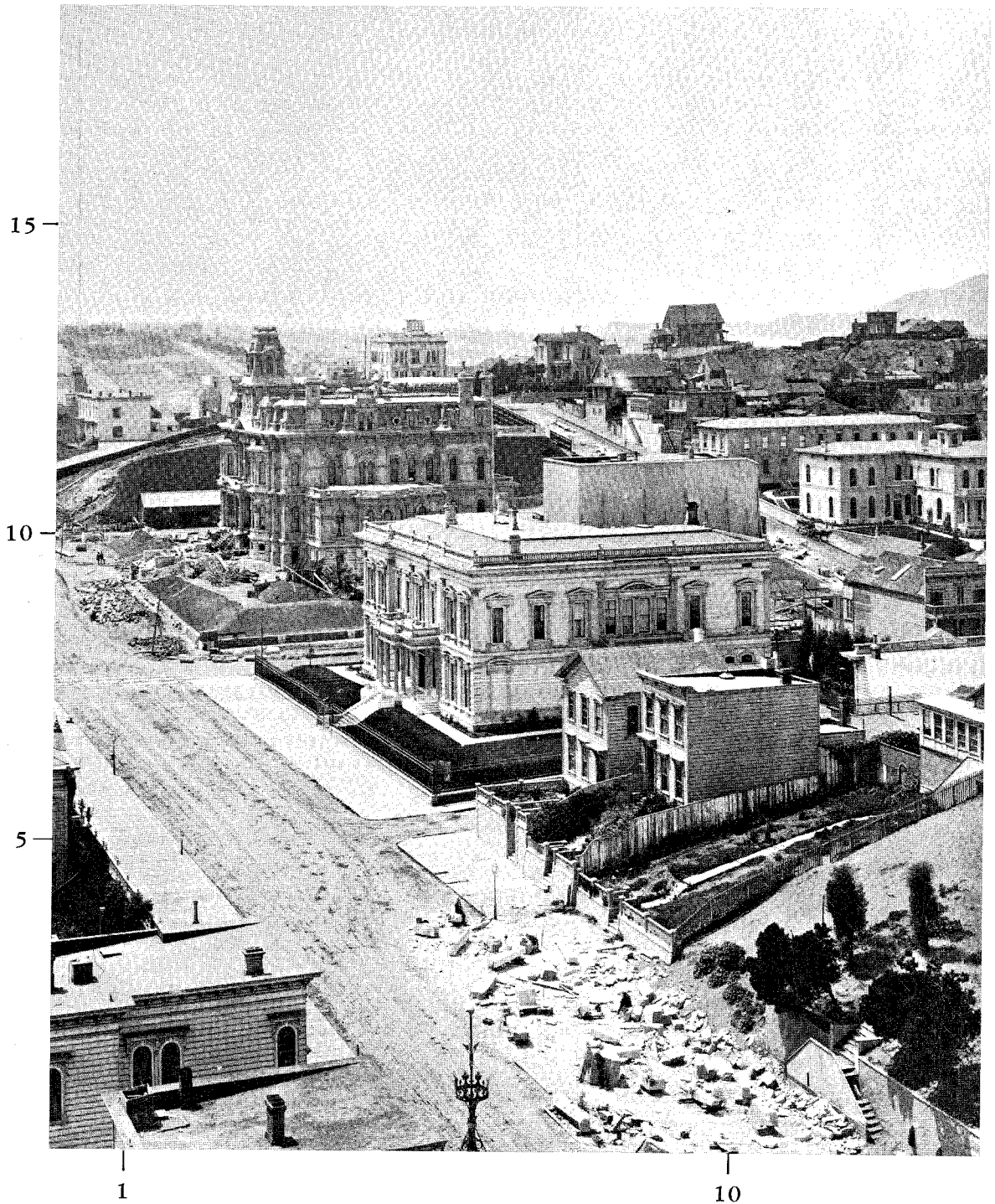
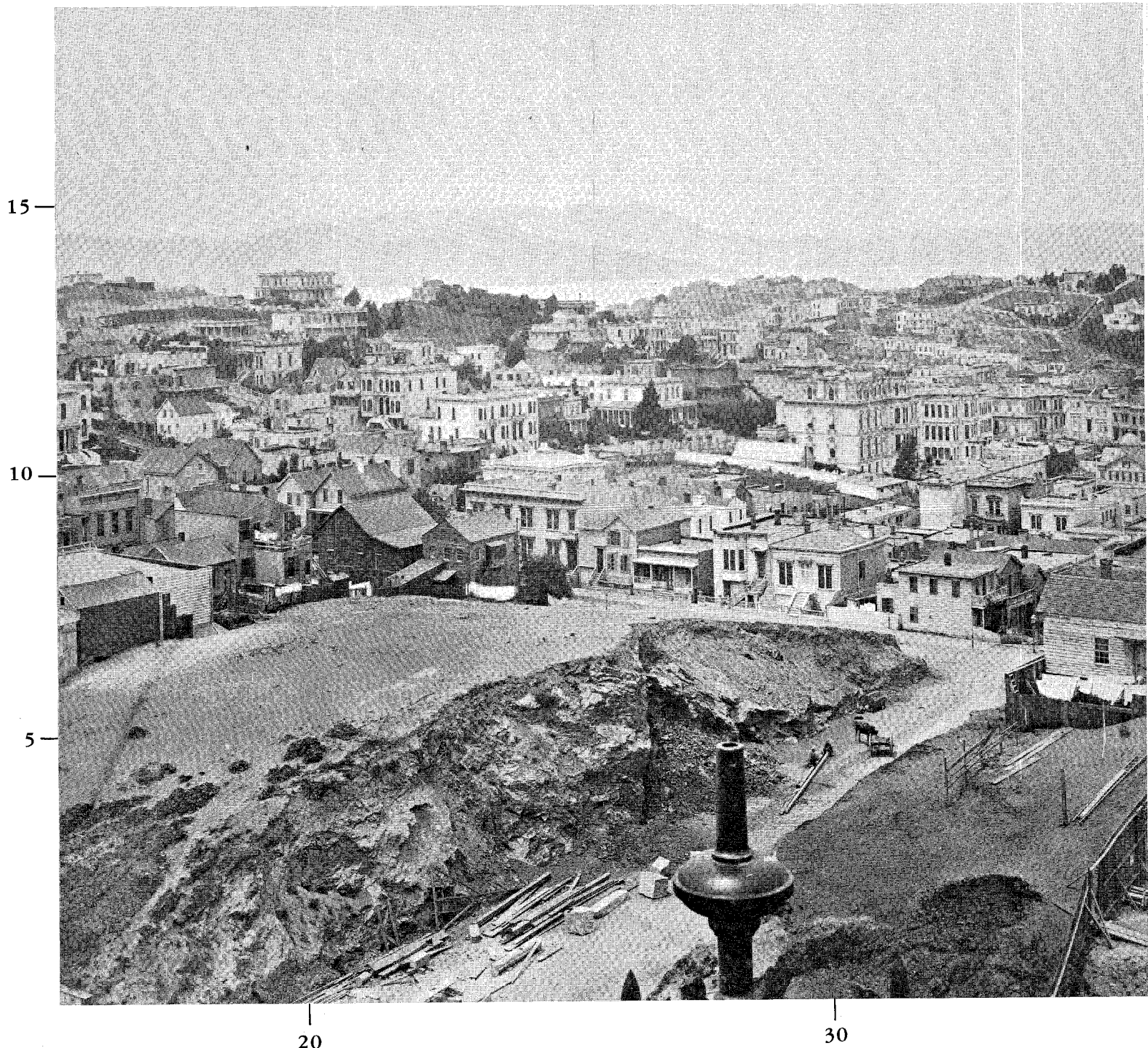


Plate 2



View of San Francisco

Plate 3



Plate 4

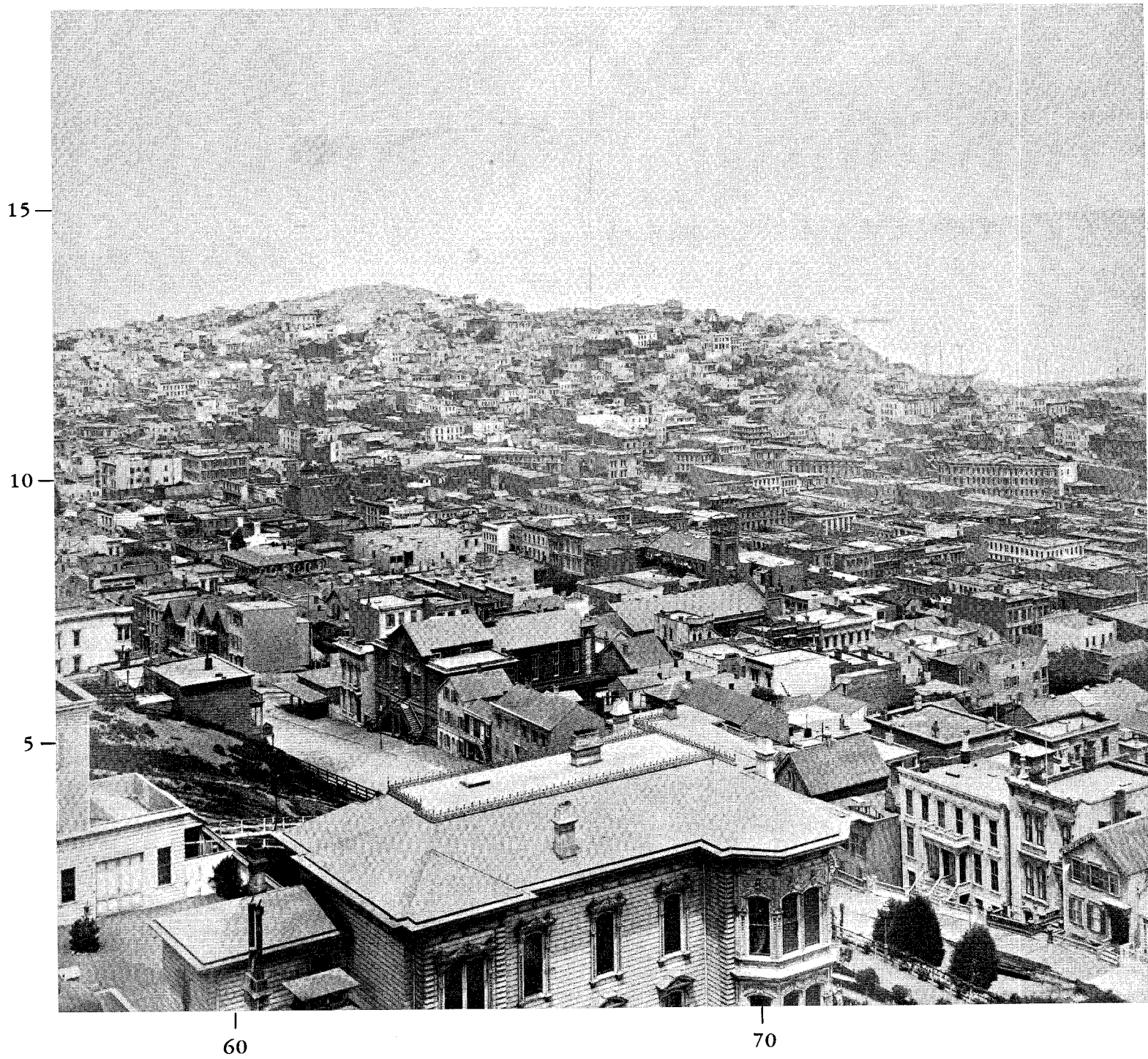
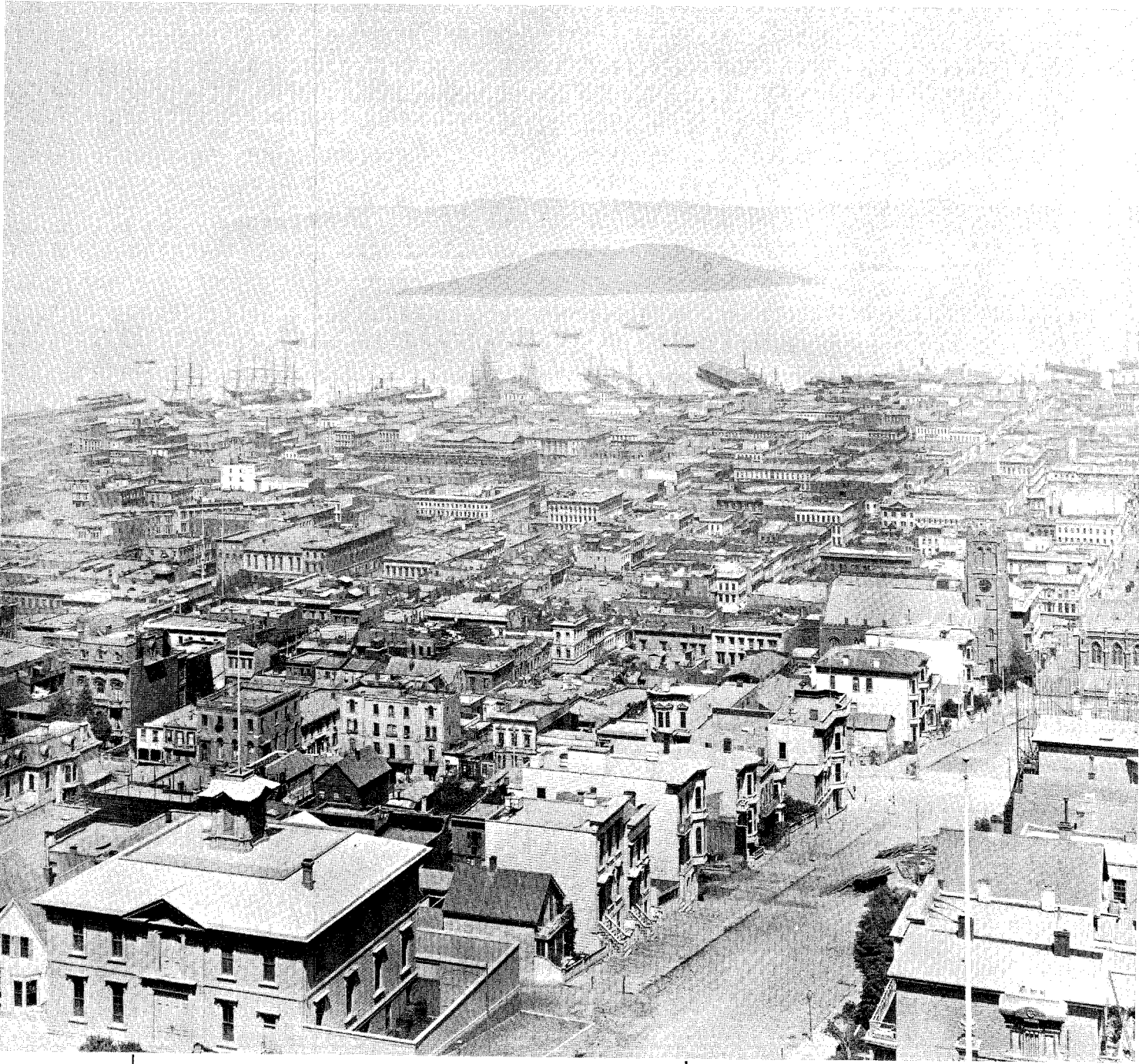


Plate 5



— 15

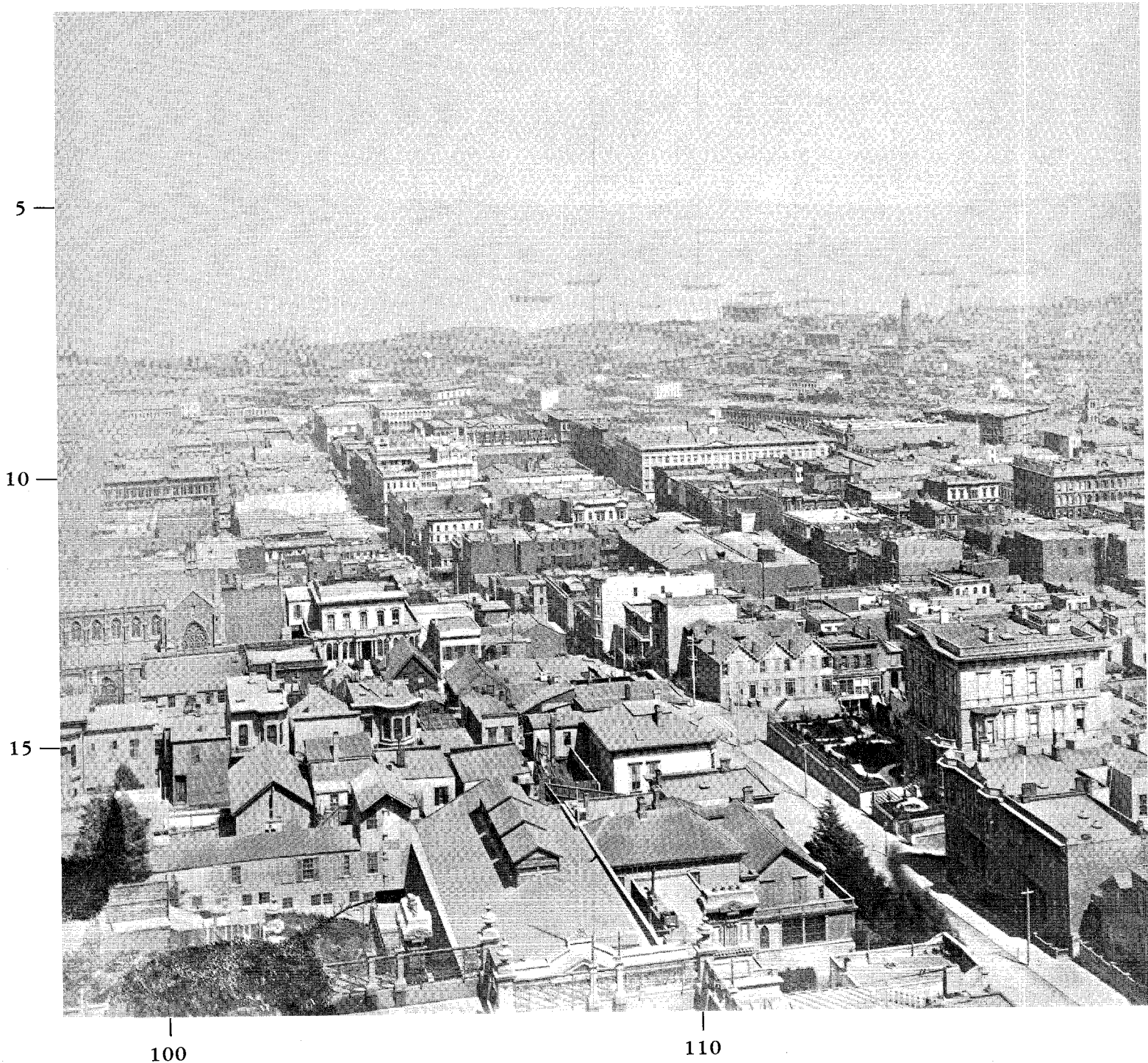
— 10

— 5

80

90

Plate 6



View of San Francisco

Plate 7



120

130

145

Plate 8



View of San Francisco

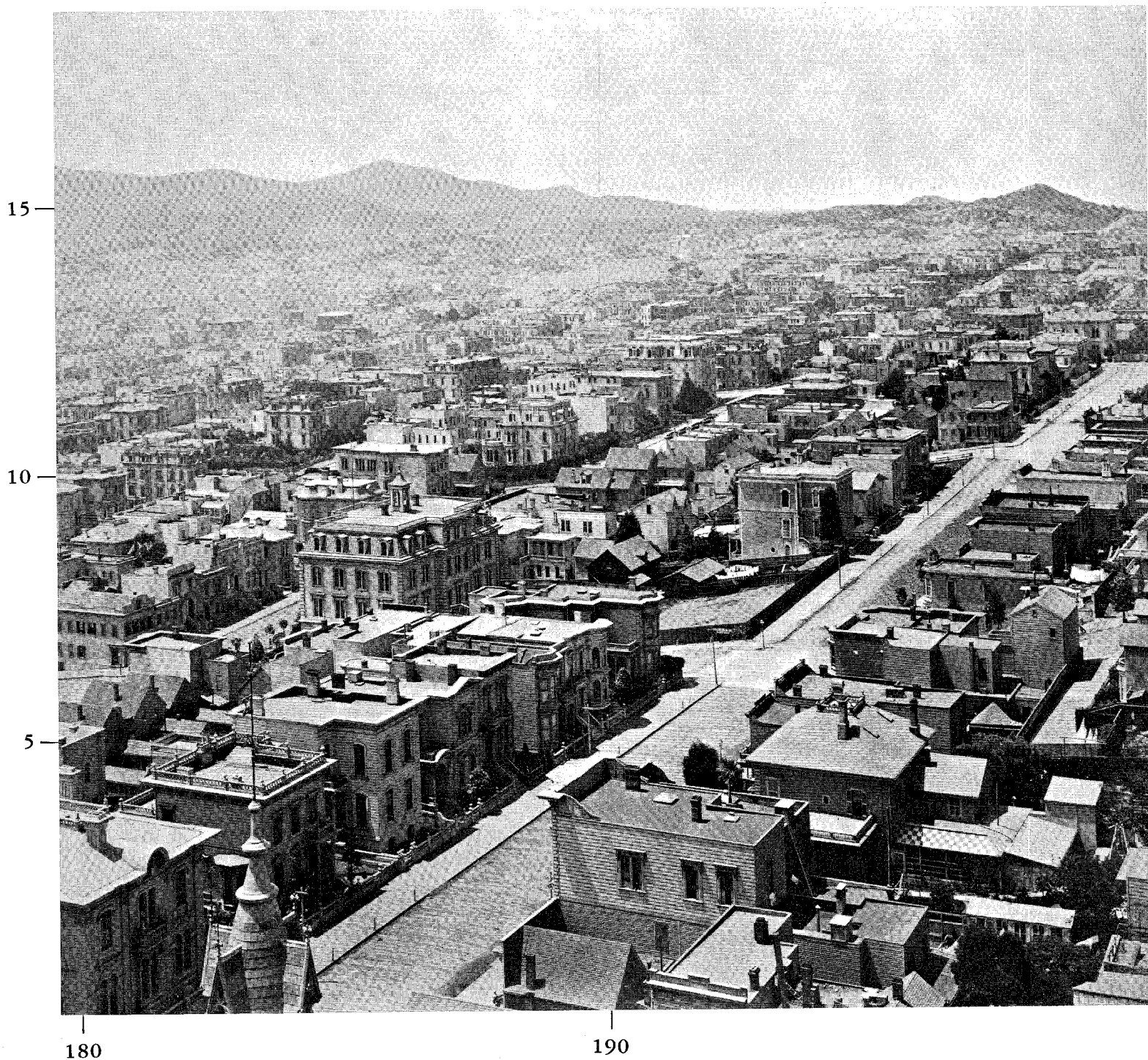
Plate 9



160

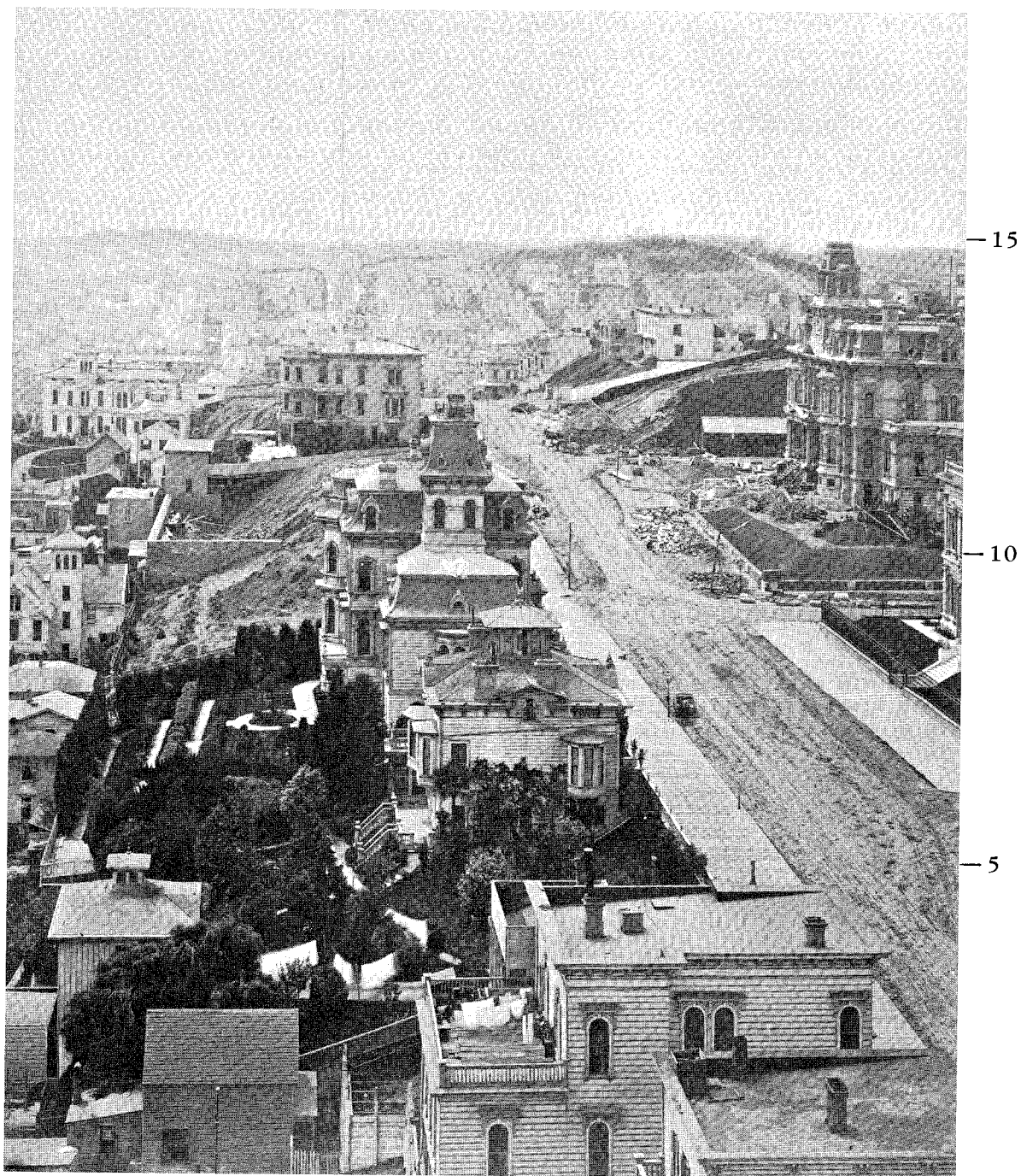
170

Plate 10



View of San Francisco

Plate II



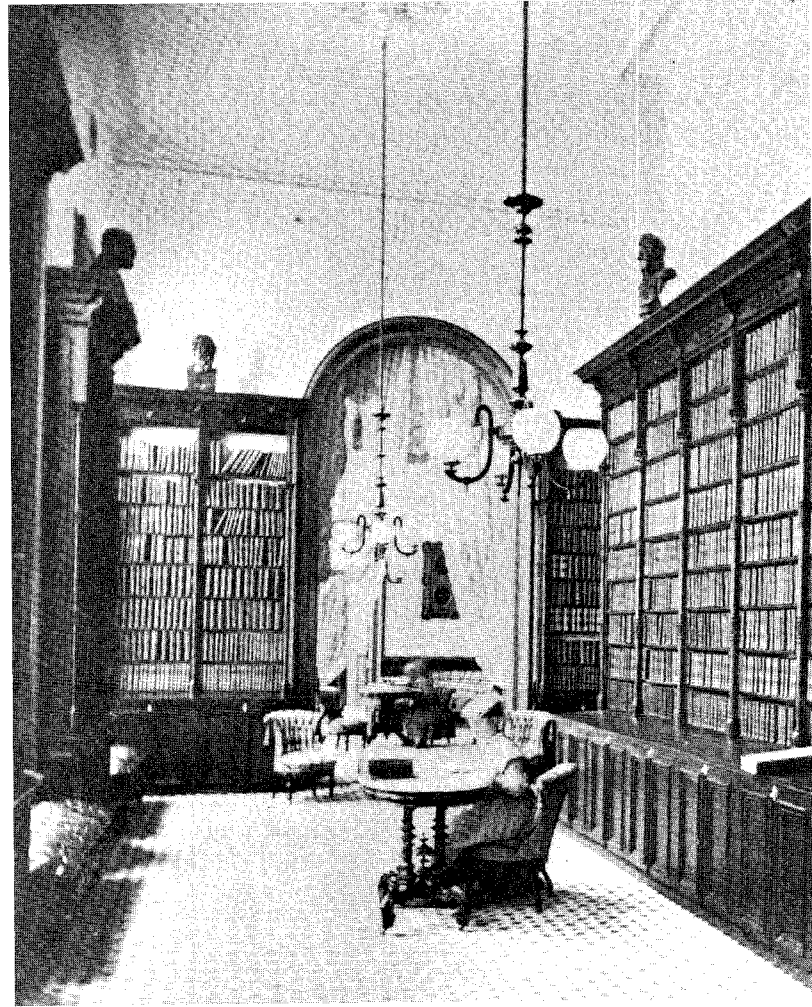
The Masonic ceremony accompanying the laying of the cornerstone of San Francisco's City Hall in 1872 attracted crowds of spectators, many of whom registered only as blurs in Muybridge's long exposure.

Concerts were held at the Mercantile Library, which boasted both a men's and ladies' reading room. Muybridge photographed the latter for the curious who could not afford the members' fee.

Less than a year after publishing his first panorama, Muybridge produced a second San Francisco panorama on mammoth 20" x 24" plates. At first glance the 1877 and 1878 views look identical, but upon closer examination many changes in the city are apparent. The California Street wire railroad was completed, and the new boardwalks between Powell and Stockton, finished in February, 1878,¹⁵ are adorned with elaborate hitching posts and planter boxes (see Plate 5 [1878]).

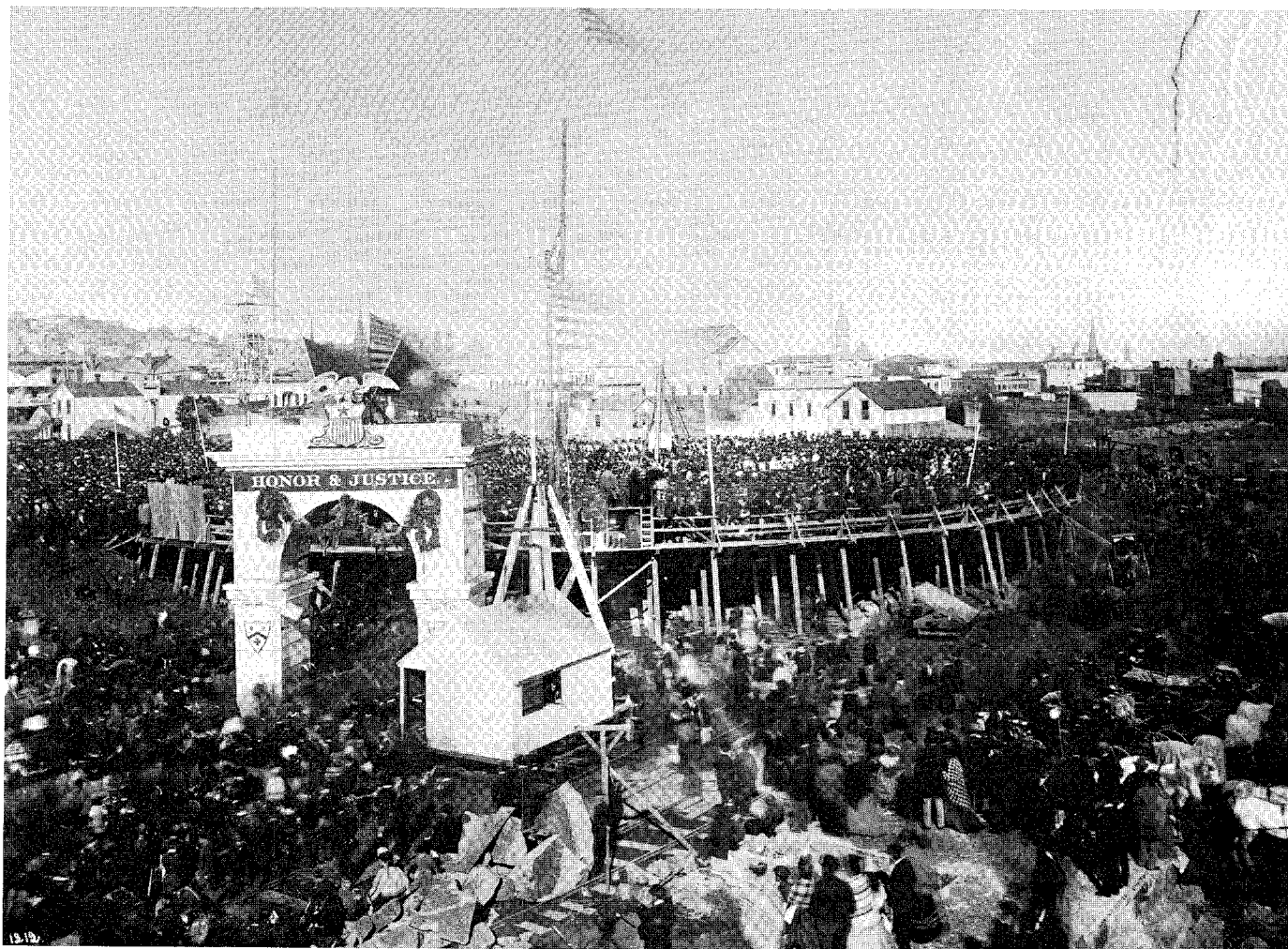
At the time of this later panorama, the California Street Railroad was in operation, as evidenced by a car coming up the hill (visible with magnifying glass at the left edge of Plate 6 [1878]). Although originally scheduled to open in 1877, the line's first cable went unlaidd until January, 1878. Torrential rains in late January seriously washed out the Powell-to-Kearney section, and the second cable could not be installed until March 9, 1878.¹⁶ While the construction problems were being fought by the workgangs, Stanford's cable railroad engaged in another kind of fight with the North Beach and Mission Railroad over the right of way from the foot of California to Market Street. The dispute was supposed to be settled in the courts, but in the late afternoon on February 10, the North Beach and Mission obtained a minor court judgment in their favor. That same night, its work gangs tore up the cobblestone and Nicholson-block pavement and laid its rails during the night before the courts opened the next day, thereby denying the California Street Railroad the opportunity to obtain an injunction. North Beach and Mission Railroad officials sanctimoniously contended that the night work was necessary to prevent traffic jams at a busy intersection.¹⁷

When the California Street Railroad opened informally on April 11, 1878, the rails stopped short of Market Street, forcing passengers to walk or transfer to a horse-car to reach the ferry. The wire railroad continued to have legal problems, because as soon as its cars began running, problems erupted with teamsters who



often blocked the tracks while unloading wagons on the busy street. Even more right-of-way litigation resulted.¹⁸

In 1878, the year of Muybridge's second panorama, San Francisco was a cultural city that hosted opera, theater, and popular entertainers. The Emerson Opera House at 318 Bush, for example, retained what would have been a "high-class" act for that theater, the Swedish Lady Quartet which opened on May 12.¹⁹ Fresh from the East, the quartet was advertised all over town, as can



be seen with a magnifying glass from the billboards at the corner of Jones and Market and also California and Stockton (see Plate 5 [1878]). Another visitor was the popular Shakespearean actor Lawrence Barrett, who came to reopen William Ralston's California Theatre which had been temporarily closed in a management dispute. Arriving in the city May 20, Barrett registered at the Occidental Hotel and performed on stage the same night. For some reason Barrett received only scant reviews which did not reflect the grandiose hopes expressed by the advertisement painted on the huge fence behind the Commercial Hotel²⁰ (see Plate 4 [1878]).

San Francisco established a literary interest quite early in its history, and everyone, it seems, read copiously. As early as 1856 there were as many as thirteen daily, thirteen weekly, and seven foreign language newspapers. The Mercantile Library, begun in 1853, had relocated to the north side of Bush between Montgomery and

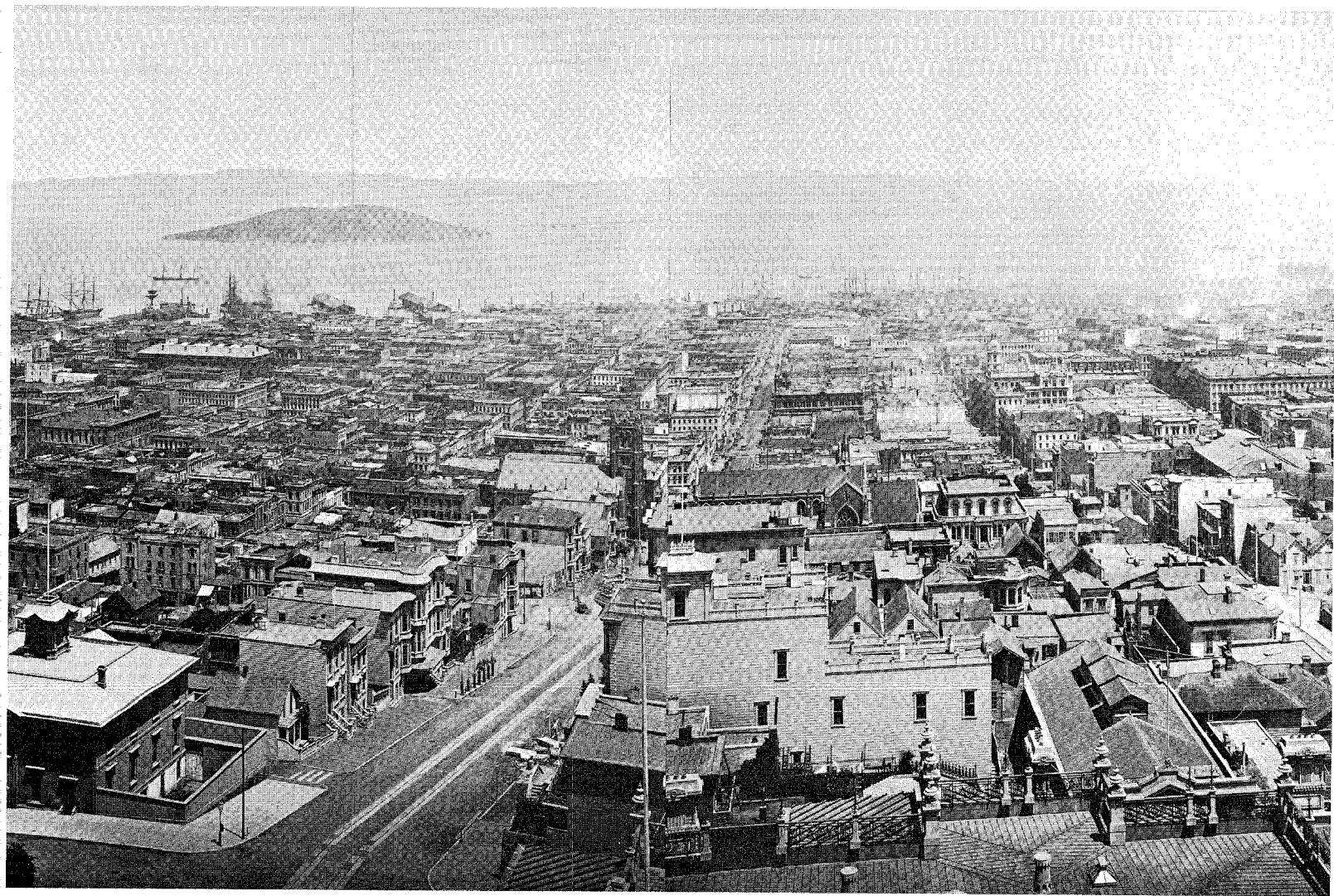
Sansome streets in 1868. The library often held "gift concerts" to raise funds, and one was given May 24, 1878, by the Swedish Lady Quartet which sang in the Library Hall following its Emerson Theater engagement.²¹ The library, which merged with the Mechanics Institute in 1876, boasted both a men's and a ladies' reading room for which members paid a \$12 annual use fee—no small sum in 1878. (The fee today is about the same.)

The city patronized all the arts including photography, and when Muybridge offered his incredible and innovative photographs for sale at Morse's Fine Arts Gallery, people praised them for their artistic value. A century later they convey a veracity and immediacy which no writer can portray. The details of the panorama remain fascinating. Each look at the photographs reveals something new in the remarkable city that was still serving a free lunch in the best saloons.

Four plates from Muybridge's 1878 panorama, corresponding to Plates 1, 4, 5, and 6 of the 1877 panorama.



View of San Francisco



One of the most perplexing things today about the Muybridge panoramas is the exact dates when the photographs were taken. However, by searching the photographs for physical evidence and correlating it with newspapers, annual reports, and deeds, and by examining the shadow lengths and direction, a remarkably accurate determination can be made as to the time of year and date the panoramas were made.

Several people have already written about one or both of these panoramas in larger works on Muybridge, but some discrepancies have occurred. In 1967, Ann Redl, a Wells Fargo technical writer, suggested that the first panorama was originally taken on a Monday in January, 1877.²² Her contention was that the Crockers occupied their new house (Plate 1-4/12) by Christmas, 1876.²³ She argued that because the mansion "had been completed only a short time before this Muybridge photograph" and because "curtains graced the windows,"²⁴ the first panorama must have been shot in January, 1877. Monday was suggested as the day of the photograph from the amount of laundry visible in the photo.²⁵

In 1975 Gordon Hendricks criticized Redl's argument in his book, *Eadweard Muybridge—The Father of Motion Pictures*:

The Monday idea rests on no more secure basis than the fact that *someone has hung out a wash*; and the January idea on the angle of the sun, which is *low in the South*. But I have been told by an authority that even given precise longitude and latitude, the shadows are insufficient to pinpoint the time of year. Even the time of day for the fifth panel from the left, the one containing St. Mary's Church, has been given—9:10 A.M. The church clock does show this time of day, but it *has not been established whether or not the clock was working*. A careful search of newspapers has failed to disclose the exact progress of the construction of the Crocker or Hopkins house which might be conclusive [*italics added*].²⁶

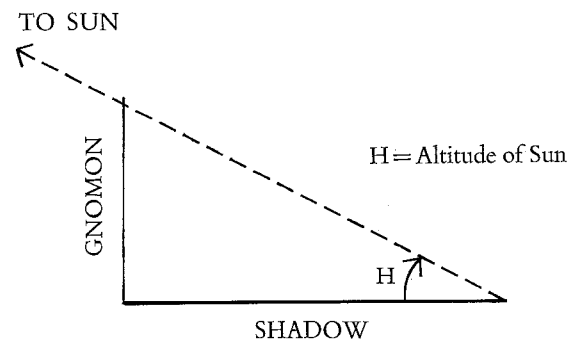
Another study, Robert Haas' *Muybridge, Man in Motion* (1976), reports only that "in early January of 1877, he [Muybridge] set up a camera using 8 x 10 inch plates and photographed the full sweep of the city."²⁷

SHADOW DATING

An observer describes the position of a celestial object in the "horizon" system of coordinates by specifying its *altitude* and *azimuth*. Altitude is the angular distance of the object above the horizon measured along the vertical circle. Azimuth is the true direction of the object, measured clockwise from North. When the object of interest is the sun, altitude and azimuth may be determined from shadow observations.

When these quantities cannot be directly measured, as in a photograph which has not been rectified or corrected for the distortions of camera and perspective, it is probably more accurate to determine altitude of the sun by estimating the ratio of *shadow length to the height* of the gnomon (object) casting the shadow, and to determine azimuth by estimating the relative angle the shadow makes with a street or building side lying in a known direction. The combination of altitude and azimuth at a known location completely determines an astronomical triangle.

Reference: Moore, CDR H. R., Bureau of Naval Personnel, *A Navigation Compendium*, NAVPERS 10494, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1966.



Haas fails to state how he determined that date, although it is possible he simply accepted Redl's dating. Finally, Kevin MacDonnell, in his book *Eadweard Muybridge, The Man Who Invented Motion Pictures* (1972), placed a later date on the photographs, suggesting that "in the early summer of 1877 he [Muybridge] succeeded in the ambitious project of taking a panoramic view of San Francisco using sixteen 20" x 24" plates."²⁸

All of these authors, I believe, erred in some critical



aspects. Although the Crocker Mansion does appear in an unfinished state and although curtains are plainly visible in its windows, suggesting that the mansion was quite likely occupied, these facts alone do not prove the January date. Furthermore, the angle of the sun is not low in the south (as Hendricks argued), but quite near the summer solstice, as can be judged from shadow dating which, contrary to Hendricks' opinion, is a sophisticated and accurate science. Plates 1, 5, and 10 show shadows which are less than one-quarter as long as the object casting the shadow. This indicates that the sun is near the summer solstice (the shorter the shadow, the higher the sun in the sky) and, most important, that the shadows are very close to the minimum possible length for this latitude, thereby reducing error in estimation. Consequently, the shadows in the photographs indicate that they could not have been taken before May 23 nor after July 23. Furthermore, because the panorama was published July 13, the possible dates must fall between May 23 and July 12, thereby eliminating most of July.

In Plate 5 it is also possible to observe the hands on the tower clock (Plate 5:95/9), seemingly reliable indicators

The church clock on this alternate Plate 5 (1878) marks a later hour in the day, indicating that the clock was indeed keeping time.

which have added confusion because of the difficulty in distinguishing the hour hand from the minute hand. Because the sunlight is falling on the *western* face of the clock tower, the clock shows the afternoon time of 1:44 P.M., not 9:10 A.M. as Hendricks and Redl have suggested. Hendricks additionally raised the question, "Is the clock working?", but Muybridge himself provided proof that such was the case because some copies of the panorama contain a Plate 5 showing the time on the clock as 4:28 P.M. We know that this alternate Plate 5 was shot the same day not only because the shadows correlate, but because the same ships are at anchor in the Bay in the same positions, albeit slightly shifted on the tide. Then, too, the pile of lumber visible on California Street between Powell and Stockton is the same, offering further correlation that the two panels were shot on the same day. That same plate showing a later time on the clock checks with the approximate shadow time of Plates 8 and 9 in which the shadows, though obviously late in the day, are barely 1.9 times as long as the object casting the shadow, again indicating a mid-June photograph.

Additional research reveals that the date of the completion of the Crocker Mansion, on which earlier dating of the panorama was based, is incorrect. On June 10, 1877, a *San Francisco Chronicle* article reported that in describing the progress of the residence of Charles Crocker who is *just installed* in his handsome house on Nob Hill, the grounds as yet are in an unfinished condition. There is a splendid system of terraces laid out, and massive stone walls *are being* constructed on the Taylor, California and Sacramento Street sides. These *will be* ornamented with polished granite posts, splendid iron fences, and lamp-posts [*italics added.*]²⁹

Again, when the Crockers celebrated their Silver Wedding Anniversary in November, 1877, the *Chronicle* described the finished mansion as having been "occupied only about five months."³⁰ It would therefore seem that both shadow dating and newspaper accounts disprove conclusively Redl's and Haas' contention that the

*Roughly visible in this detail of Plate 4
of the 1878 panorama is a billboard
advertising the appearance of Shakespearean
actor Lawrence Barrett.*

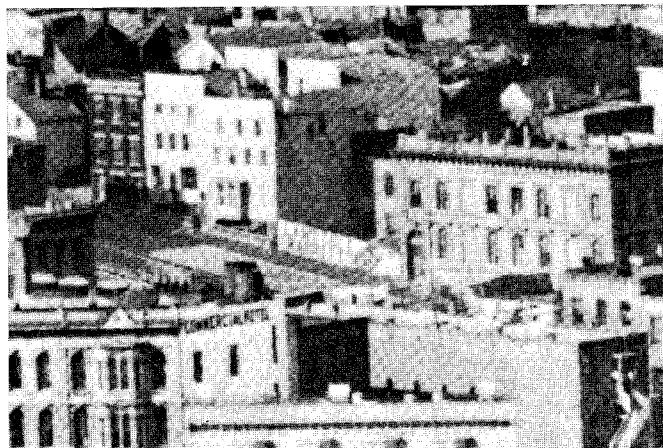
panorama was photographed in January.

That the photographs were taken on a Monday seems plausible, because laundry hung to dry in early morning would be taken in by mid-afternoon, and only some two dozen yards evidence laundry hanging late in the day when the photographs were taken. MacDonnell was quite close in choosing an early summer date (even though he incorrectly stated the size and number of plates used). A date between June 10 and July 3 would be most likely, because the shadows (as in Plate 5) are so close to the minimum possible length for San Francisco's latitude ($37^{\circ} 47.5'$ north) that room for error is substantially reduced. This date would closely correspond with Muybridge's first public announcement of his work on July 13, 1877.

As for the second panorama, a similar dating error occurs in the literature which may be resolved by shadow dating and coordination of events and buildings. Gordon Hendricks suggested October or November of 1877 as the date the second panorama was photographed, based on the existence of the California Street Railroad tracks which were laid by November of 1877 and the photographer's tiny inscription, "1877", on the chimney of the fourth house to the left of Stanford's stables on Powell Street (see Plate 4 [1878]).

Robert Haas states that two editions of the second panorama were made, one in November, 1877, and one in April, 1878. The November, 1877, photo, he writes, shows "two landmarks that had not appeared in the first: the existence of the California Street cable car line and the celebrated Spite Fence."³¹ The Spite Fence, however, is plainly visible in the first panorama, having been built in the summer of 1876.

While it is true that the cable car tracks were laid by November, 1877, the cable itself was not installed until March, 1878, and the second panorama was thus taken after that date because it shows a cable car coming up the hill (Plates 6 and 7 [1878]). Complete with elaborate hitching posts and flower boxes, the sidewalks on Cali-



fornia Street between Powell and Stockton were not finished until February, 1878. Most significant are the scattered billboard advertisements for actor Lawrence Barrett's appearance on May 19 and for the Swedish Lady Quartet's program on May 12 which appear in the panorama, dated notices suggesting that the month of the photo was May, 1878. The photographs were probably not taken as early as April because Muybridge would not be likely to call on Mrs. Hopkins and request to use her home as a vantage point for his camera while she was still in mourning for her husband who had died suddenly on March 29.³² A date after the middle of May is probable because the first newspaper item about Mrs. Hopkins, which noted her filing a petition for appointment as administrator of the property of her husband, who had died intestate, appeared in the paper on May 17, indicating that she was once again in the public eye. It is known, too, that Muybridge himself was in the city to present a display of his illuminated photographs of Central America at an art exhibition on May 15 and 18. On the other end of the calendar, the photo could not be taken after the third week of July because the roof of Yung's house is still visible behind Crocker's Spite Fence (see Plate 1 [1878]). Yung had the house removed to Broderick Street the last week of July,

1878.³³ The fact that the year 1877 was written on the photo quite probably was an attempt by Muybridge to use his earlier copyright to protect the second edition. It reflects the heated competition among photographers of the day to produce commercially profitable works. Careful examination of the shadows in the second panorama suggests that it was shot no earlier than mid-May and no later than the end of July, with a date of July 1 to July 12, 1878, being the most likely. This correlates quite well with the physical evidence visible in the picture.

Why all this effort to ascertain the exact date of an old photograph? Muybridge panoramas are neither casual snapshots nor are they true art, even though they are superbly executed. The photos are a history, and like any written history, they need to be examined closely. Twice in less than twelve months Muybridge etched the external character of the city on his huge glass plates. Now, a century later, we can explore in loving detail the physiognomy of the city at a particular instant in time. But what instant? At what exact point in the life course of the city did Muybridge freeze the reflected sun from those buildings, roads, and people that were San Francisco? The more we know about the era, the better we can "read" the contents of these panoramas. The more intently we look at the marvelous panels, the better we can see the character of a city long since vanished and yet still alive through the historical records left by the people who became the past.

The four 1878 panorama plates are courtesy The Glow of Ages. All other photographs are from the CHS Library.

Notes

1. *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 14, 15, 1877.
2. *San Francisco Daily Morning Call*, August 24, 26, 1876.
3. *The Wasp*, September 30, 1876; *San Francisco News Letter and California Advertiser*, August 26, 1876; *Thistleton's Jolly Giant*, July 17, 1880.
4. *San Francisco Daily Chronicle*, October 30, 1877.
5. *Amelia Neville Scrapbook*, California Historical Society collection, newsclipping, p. 51, April 25, 1878; p. 55, July 27, 1878.
6. San Francisco Hall of Records, General Index of Deeds, #166, Rosina Yung to William Peters, Deed Book 1607, p. 153, April 11, 1894.
7. *New York Times*, July 12, 1877, p. 3.
8. *New York Times*, November 26, 1876, p. 10; December 3, 1876, p. 10; December 15, 1876, p. 7.
9. *New York Times*, November 12, 1876, p. 1; April 26, 1878, p. 1.
10. Benjamin Estelle Lloyd, *Lights and Shades* (San Francisco, 1876).
11. *San Francisco Call*, January 29, February 9, 1877.
12. *Daily Call*, October 22, 1876. Nineteenth-century jargon was varied and colorful. This issue of the *Call* carried a notice about 300 "Sydney flats" offered by a local auction house, which turned out to be a luggage sale on 300 suitcases.
13. Altrocchi, Julia Cooley, *The Spectacular San Franciscans* (New York, 1949), p. 193.
14. Altrocchi, *Spectacular San Franciscans*, p. 182.
15. *San Francisco Annual Report 1878*, Superintendent of Public Streets and Highways, p. 145.
16. *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 30, 1878, p. 3; February 12, 1878, p. 3.
17. *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 11, 1878, p. 3; April 20, 1878, p. 1; May 8, 1878, p. 4; May 11, 1878, p. 1.
18. *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 20, 1878, p. 1; May 8, 1878, p. 4; May 11, 1878, p. 1.
19. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 12, 1878, p. 2; May 16, 1878, p. 4.
20. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 12, 1878, p. 2; May 16, 1878, p. 4; May 21, 1878, p. 3.
21. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 25, 1878, p. 3.
22. Ann Harlow Redl, *Panorama of San Francisco From California Street Hill* by Eadweard Muybridge 1877 (San Francisco, 1971), p. 1.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
26. Gordon Hendericks, *Eadweard Muybridge: The Father of Motion Picture* (New York, 1975), p. 94.
27. Haas, Robert B., *Muybridge, Man in Motion* (Berkeley, 1976), p. 84.
28. MacDonnell, Kevin, *Eadweard Muybridge: The Man Who Invented the Motion Picture* (Boston, 1972).
29. *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 10, 1877.
30. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 28, 1877, Neville Scrapbook 412.
31. Haas, *Muybridge*, p. 86.
32. *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 30, 1878, May 18, 1878, p. 4.
33. *Neville Scrapbook 46*, California Historical Society collection, 1874-82, p. 55-56.

CHARLES DWIGHT WILLARD

LOS ANGELES' "CITIZEN FIXIT"

City Booster and Progressive Reformer

A figure of central if obscured importance in the growth of Los Angeles from small town to large metropolis was Charles Dwight Willard. Failing as an independent businessman, Willard carved for himself a successful career in city boosting and political reform. A prolific writer, a skilled journalist, and an active force behind most of Los Angeles' progressive organizations and publications, Willard remains almost forgotten by historians of California and the early-twentieth-century progressive period. His career nonetheless sheds considerable new light on the close ties between promotion and reform in Los Angeles and the development of the city's progressive power elite.

Willard became a permanent resident of Los Angeles in 1888. A frail, bespectacled, twenty-eight-year-old expatriate consumptive from Chicago, he arrived with little money, a good education acquired at the University of Michigan, and limited experience as a newspaper reporter.

Willard settled in Southern California just after its greatest economic boom had collapsed. Jobs were scarce, and with persistence he eked out a meager existence writing articles for several local newspapers. His financial plight, he admitted to his sister, was reflected in the political dexterity of his editorials:

Today, for example, in the role of a liberal Republican I shall view with alarm (in the *Times*) the effort to foist Blaine on the party. Tomorrow (in the *Herald*) I shall haw-haw with glee over the contortions of the Plumed Knight. But Tuesday, with a perfectly straight face, I shall turn up in the *Tribune* cheering vociferously for the grand old leader [Grover Cleveland]. The situation is not without its humorous side, although its financial aspect is rather dubious.²

After a short stint with the *Telegram*, then in the throes of bankruptcy, and two weeks with Harrison Gray Otis' *Times*, Willard secured a place on the morning *Herald*, where he covered police and political happenings

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in the city. His seven-day work week, which necessitated his walking the hilly, downtown streets to get his stories, did nothing to improve his fragile health.

Willard's journalism beat had its rewards, however, and soon his friends and acquaintances grew to include lawyers, judges, police officers, and Los Angeles Mayor Henry T. Hazard. He began making friends among the city's Democrats, and he gave his first speech in Los Angeles at a banquet in October, 1888. Enjoying the fun of politics, he apparently began to reverse his earlier impression that all Los Angelenos seemed "so hopelessly vulgar. . . ."³

Hinting at the future, Willard soon noticed in Los Angeles "an astonishing number of educated young men who maintain about the same principles as I do, and I have hopes of a good time in the future."⁴ Only a few months after moving to the city, he noted to his sister, "I feel in these days from a variety of small evidences that I am getting a grip here. I bide my time. I am in no hurry. I keep making acquaintances everywhere and I notice that I have influence with them."⁵ Three months later he wrote with pride to his sister, "Today I have an acquaintance that reaches out in every direction and have an acknowledged place among the best newspaper men in the city. Yet I have only laid the foundations. We shall see how it is when I have been here another year."⁶ Another letter followed which observed, "In wearing good clothes and going into the organizations of which the gentlemen and influential citizens are members, I am making a sort of an investment for the future."⁷ Willard's letters to his family reflect remarkable honesty in discussing his hopes and desires for his career.

While working for the *Herald* in the late eighties, Willard also earned a minor reputation as a writer of morbid short stories, most of which were published in *The Argonaut*, a San Francisco-based literary magazine. In twenty-two *Argonaut* stories, death themes including suicides, murders, and accidents appear in all but five. Most of the stories are set in a city, newspaper reporters

Willard's journalism beat had its rewards, and soon his friends and acquaintances grew to include lawyers, judges, police officers and the mayor of Los Angeles.



A failure as an independent businessman, Willard carved a successful career for himself as a city booster and political reformer.

*Eager would-be purchasers viewed lots
in the new development of Monrovia on
the opening day of the land sale in the
late 1880's. Willard arrived in Los Angeles
just after this greatest economic
boom had collapsed.*

appear in several instances, and boarding houses are the usual dwellings—elements reflecting Willard's life at the time. In his own estimation, his best work was "The Fall of Ulysses," which related the perils of training an elephant to read. The story enjoyed a long life and was once printed in the *New York Sun* under Rudyard Kipling's byline.⁸

In 1888, the year Willard arrived in Los Angeles, a movement to establish a chamber of commerce was building in the city. An earlier chamber had expired in 1883, but with the economic vicissitudes following the deflation of the boom, a new booster organization seemed to be in order. Most of the men calling for the new organization were recent arrivals, men who had brought capital with them which had been invested in commerce and property. They had substantial interests to protect and enhance.⁹

Not surprisingly, Charlie Willard appeared at the first meeting of the revived Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, covering the event for his newspaper. When the group discussed selecting a secretary, he later recalled, he promised himself, "Some day I mean to be secretary of this concern."¹⁰ Early in 1891 he neared his goal by becoming an assistant to the organization's secretary, H. Jay Hanchette, who was one of Willard's best friends. When Hanchette, who had proven himself an incompetent administrator, mysteriously disappeared after promoting an Orange Carnival in Chicago, Willard took his place as head of the chamber.¹¹ (Hanchette's disappearance provided one of the best unsolved mysteries in the city's history.)

Under the efficient leadership of the new secretary, the moribund chamber of commerce was put in order. Willard proudly wrote to his family: "I can be a good business man if one is needed. This is about the first chance I ever had in life to show what I could do. . . ."¹²

Three years after becoming an Angeleno, he held a position that made him the city's leading professional booster and opened to him the doors of the city's power structure.

Not a small part of Willard's success with the chamber stemmed from his ability and skill as a writer. Leaflets, pamphlets, and newspaper articles emanated from his desk in a steady flow. Undoubtedly he also wrote copy directly for the newspapers, a service appreciated by overburdened city editors. By 1899, he had been largely responsible for the publication of thirty-five pamphlets which had circulation of more than one million copies. Most of them were city booster publications geared for eastern audiences. At the end of the decade he could claim with satisfaction that Los Angeles was the city best advertised in the East, with the exception of Chicago.¹³

Willard liked his job with the chamber, but he remained a man with unfulfilled aspirations. Thoroughly contented in 1892, he began showing signs of restlessness, and in 1894 he began publishing a small magazine well known in the annals of Los Angeles called *Land of Sunshine*.¹⁴ His venture was financially unsuccessful, however, and he turned the publication over to Charles Fletcher Lummis at the end of the year.¹⁵ "Don Carlos" Lummis, Los Angeles' best known eccentric, lothario, and early day hippie, converted the magazine to a literary journal with, albeit, booster overtones and, in 1902, changed the title to *Out West* to further separate it from its Chamber of Commerce heritage.

Willard again turned his attentions elsewhere, and in May, 1895, he founded the Sunset Club of Los Angeles. Calculated to include "the leaders of practical affairs in the city," the organization became an important arena of Willard's influence.¹⁶ The club's purposes were primarily social and intellectual, with monthly dinner meetings that included the reading of papers on timely topics. For Willard, however, much of the significance of the group was ultimately political and economic.



In the years that followed, in fact, Sunset Club members were closely identified with each organization and every campaign led by Willard. Sunset members included attorneys Henry W. O'Melveny and Charles Cassat Davis, United States Senator Stephen M. White, authors Lummis and Theodore S. Van Dyke, *Express* publisher Henry Z. Osborne, businessmen Wilson C. Patterson and Joseph O. Koepfli, Jr., and land developers Daniel Freeman, Abbot Kinney, Jonathan S. Slauson, and Slauson's son, James. Norman Bridge, Willard's physician before they both moved to California, was also included in the circle of influential citizens. Today the club remains an elite of the intellectual leaders of the business and professional community. Though its membership might deny the assertion, much of the policymaking for Los Angeles in the past eighty-three years has come from the Sunset Club.¹⁷

It was as Chamber of Commerce secretary in the

1890's, however, that Willard frequently found himself engaged in civic combat. Better service and lower rates from the railroads were one major interest of the businessmen's organization, but these issues proved to be minor compared to its contest with the Southern Pacific Railroad over the site for a federally financed, deep-water harbor. The railroad chose Santa Monica, while the majority opinion in Los Angeles supported San Pedro. To oversee the affray, Willard founded the Free Harbor League in 1895. Playing a role that was part boosting, part reform, his thinly veiled extension of the Chamber of Commerce helped lead the city to victory.¹⁸

In 1896 the League for Better City Government also took form in Los Angeles, and Willard claimed the operation as "my own scheme and plan from the start."¹⁹ Most of the leaders of the organization were friends of the chamber secretary, a conspicuous number being members of the Sunset Club. Willard, however, stayed

By 1899, Willard had been largely responsible for the publication of thirty-five pamphlets which had circulation of more than one million copies. Most of them were city booster publications.

in the background, not wishing to jeopardize his position with the chamber by acquiring political enemies. With its purposes of "purification of local politics" and securing "business administration of municipal affairs," the reform group thrived for several years before expiring. Its principal task of acquiring a new charter for the city was not accomplished.²⁰

In March, 1897, the restless Willard left the Chamber of Commerce for a new career as managing editor of the *Los Angeles Express*. Though the financial backing for his newspaper came from some of the city's more conservative capitalists, the *Express* operated as an energetic champion of municipal reform. As defined by Willard, however, the reforms needed by the city were moderate and business-oriented. Among the city's needs finding mention on Willard's editorial page, not surprisingly, was an improved city charter. His campaign to modify the charter and give more power to the mayor's office, however, fell far short of success in 1898.

Naturally enough, the afternoon daily for which Willard worked also did its best to generate enthusiasm for Southern California which was then in the midst of an economic recession. Every shred of evidence pointing to local economic prosperity was given great play in both news and editorial columns. One positive development strongly promoted in the *Express'* pages was the new oil industry, which by early 1898 was producing 2500 barrels a day in the city alone. Several hundred men were involved in the business, and stories featured the few small fortunes that were beginning to accumulate.²¹

Another source of enthusiasm was the "small Klondyke" that had opened up at Randsburg, one hundred miles north of Los Angeles in the Mojave Desert.²²

After two years of desperately hard work and frequent ill-health, however, Willard personally felt he had nothing to show for his efforts at the *Express* except more experience. Accordingly, he severed his connection with the paper in April, 1899. As with his attempt at magazine publishing, he had again failed in bidding for financial advancement.

After declining an offer to become the city's librarian, he again turned his talents to writing. In short time he produced three works that remain among the basic sources on the history of Los Angeles.²³

While engaged with his writing Willard assisted with several Chamber of Commerce enterprises and then became secretary of the fledgling Associated Jobbers of Los Angeles in the spring of 1900. Founded with the primary purpose of gaining lower freight rates from the railroads, the organization placed Willard again in a position straddling boosting and reform.

Willard had avoided active political involvement for several years after leaving the chamber. Late in 1901, just before he turned to making his living as a professional reformer, he sent a revealing letter to his father. It answers his father's criticism of politicians and expresses a surprising complacency for a man who would soon be making his living as a professional critic and fault-finder.

Now, my experience with men in public life is certainly very different from yours. I generally find them capable and honest fellows that do about the best they can under pretty hard conditions, and I always feel they are entitled to all the encouragement and good will we can give them instead of incessant kicks and complaints. I thank heaven that the older I get, the better I find the world, and that the disposition to continual criticism and fault-finding, which I had as a boy, is gradually dying out of me.²⁵

Considering the respect paid Willard by so many of his contemporaries, one hesitates to question his sincerity

Willard's pamphlets and newspaper articles made Los Angeles the best advertised city in the East, with the exception of Chicago. This photo shows a bustling Spring Street looking north from Third. c.1905.



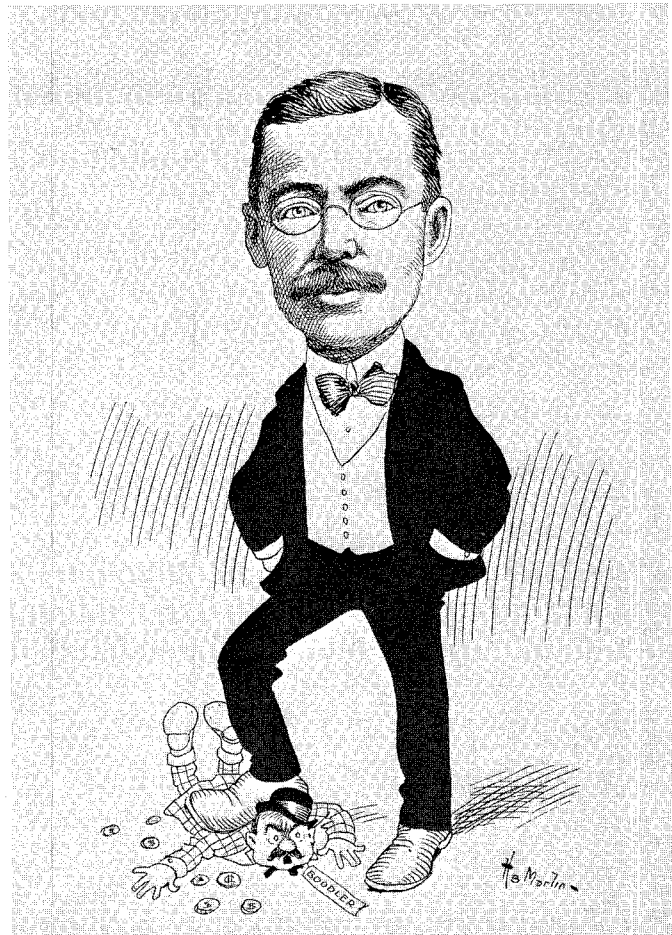
As secretary of the Municipal League, Willard helped bring the civil service system and direct legislation to Los Angeles.

as a reformer. It takes little imagination, however, to correlate the condition of his pocketbook with his sense of urgency about changes in government and politics.

By the year 1901 the Committee of Safety, which had replaced the League for Better City Government as the city's reform agency, was deep in the doldrums. Instead of rehabilitating the committee, its progressive leaders opted to create a new body, the Municipal League of Los Angeles. The league was to be a permanent civic reform body with a paid office staff, including an executive secretary, and it was to be non-partisan. By the end of the year formal organization was complete, and the ubiquitous Willard was installed in the office of secretary. Accordingly, he hired an assistant and added an extra telephone in his Associated Jobbers' office.²⁶

The first significant changes in Los Angeles municipal government accomplished by the league came in 1902 with the adoption of a civil service system and direct legislation, or initiative, referendum and recall. With apparent ease, success had gone to the reformers. The two men most responsible for the results were John Randolph Haynes, leader of the Direct Legislation League, and Willard. The stalwart Haynes, a prosperous, Christian-socialist physician and landholder, was a director of the Municipal League. Willard was an officer of the Direct Legislation League.

The liveliest political issue in Los Angeles the following year erupted when Mayor Meredith P. Snyder appointed Willard to the new Civil Service Commission. Accompanying league secretary Willard on the list of appointees were Haynes and Henry O'Melveny, the city's leading attorney. Of the five nominees to the commission, only one was not a member of the Sunset Club.²⁷ When the nominations were sent to the city council for approval, a fight erupted. "We object to Willard because

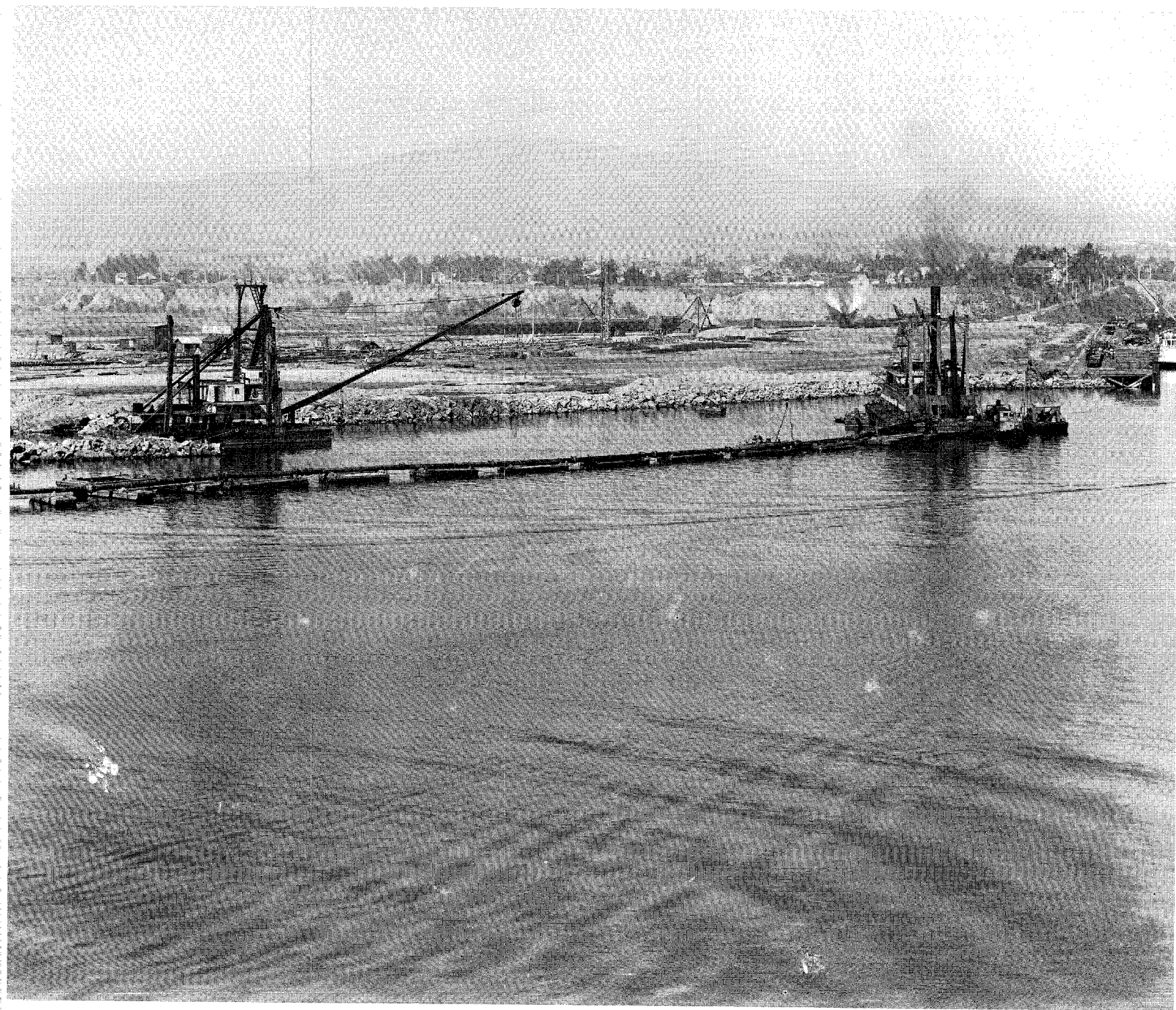


he has been trying to run the city his own way" voiced a councilman.²⁸ Though Willard had been labeled "father of the civil service" in Los Angeles, the council had its way, and Willard withdrew. In his place Snyder appointed Sunsetter Henry S. McKee. The commission's choice for its secretary was another of Willard's good friends, William Andrew Spalding. Willard's companions were hard to deny.

In line with the Municipal League's dual purposes of studying and then implementing municipal reform, Willard was sent to the Midwest in May, 1903, to investigate other city governments. His hectic six-week trip took him to nine cities. Willard was impressed by the strong municipal reform groups in Cleveland and Chicago, but not by those in Toledo and Kansas City. In Denver he witnessed preparations for the new city charter. In Milwaukee he rated the civil service system among the best in the nation; St. Joseph, by comparison, had the worst system he observed.²⁹

Willard's fact-finding trip was well timed. There were no political campaigns underway in Los Angeles to

Willard founded the Free Harbor League in 1895 to aid the Chamber of Commerce in its contest with the Southern Pacific Railroad to win a federally-financed harbor at San Pedro. This photograph shows the continuing construction c.1912.



In March, 1906, Willard's opportune presence at a council meeting allowed him to thwart the giveaway of a railway franchise worth an estimated \$1,000,000 to streetcar king Henry E. Huntington.

divert attention from Willard's tour, and Los Angeles was itself in the midst of a decade of steady growth that gave spirit to the business community. The movement for civic improvement had been progressing well, with the Municipal League becoming a respected institution with little or no competition from other organizations. Hence, Willard's extensive excursion garnered much interest from the civic-minded for a period of weeks. As well, soon after his return he began publication of a nine-part series of articles for the *Los Angeles Herald* based on his new stock of information. (In time, the members of the city council grew fatigued from his message-laden reminiscences usually aimed in the direction of City Hall.)

Willard's speeches, reports, statistics and newspaper articles kept a host of civic issues alive and before the public. Tramps, saloons, prize fighting, consolidation of city and county functions, financial practices of city agencies, improvement of the health department, and even garbage collection were given attention. The connection between Willard's fact-finding midwestern travels and the issues that occupied city government in Los Angeles for at least the remainder of the year was readily apparent.

The next year efforts at civic reform in Los Angeles centered on the possible recall of city officials. The Municipal League took no part in the campaign that removed a disliked city councilman from office that year, but Willard was so encouraged by this first successful

use of recall in the nation's history that he soon led his league into a bitterly personal dispute with a corrupt and inefficient street superintendent. Tied in closely with the campaign was an investigation of political corruption by the county grand jury. Willard, a man of many hats, was also the grand jury foreman.

Besides participation in the street superintendency election, the league supported in 1904 a "non-partisan" school board slate and several charter amendments, including one which created a Board of Public Works. The league won all its contests that year, and during the struggle the *Los Angeles Times* fitted Willard with the title, "Citizen Fixit." Borrowed from a politically naive cartoon character appearing in the *Sunday Times*, the nickname was not meant as a compliment.

In 1905 Willard again headed east as league secretary to investigate municipal government, but unlike his previous trip, any direct results of his efforts are hard to spot. Southern California was in the midst of its most vigorous land boom since the 1880's, and a scramble for wealth consumed the attention of Willard's reform associates. Willard himself invested in a small amount of acreage. Reflecting the feelings of the average Los Angeleno in 1905, an anti-saloon referendum was soundly trounced just prior to Willard's return from the East.³⁰ The business of reform had slowed, at least for a time.

After his eastern visit Willard began publishing an eight-page monthly magazine entitled *Municipal Affairs*. As the official organ of the Municipal League, it was sent to all league members, city and county officials, local publishers, and ministers residing in Los Angeles, as well as reform groups in other parts of the nation. Most information in the paper was a combination of news-reporting and editorializing on national and local issues, and all of it was written by Willard. Despite his expectations that the paper would develop into a larger enterprise, by 1907 circulation reached only 1100.³¹ Convinced of the importance of communication, Wil-

As a Democrat, Willard was not a member of the progressive Lincoln-Roosevelt League, but the Los Angeles Times recognized his important contribution to that organization. Here he is shown with his closest political associate, Meyer Lissner, after a supposed setback for the league in February, 1909.

Willard nevertheless continued to use the magazine to bind together diverse elements of the reform movement in Los Angeles.

Another of Willard's regular tasks was the keeping of a close eye on the city council. Whether the councilmen liked it or not, Willard had his own corner of the council chambers, and he gained begrudging recognition as the "Member from the Tenth Ward," there being but nine wards in the city.³²

In March, 1906, Willard's opportune presence at a council meeting allowed him to thwart the giveaway of a railway franchise worth an estimated \$1,000,000 to streetcar king Henry Edwards Huntington. Using the newspapers to inform the public, the threat of recall, distribution of pointed literature, and the legal machinery of the Municipal League, the giveaway was stopped. During his remaining years in Los Angeles, Willard again and again harkened to this incident as a prime example of the menace of the "machine." Referring in this case primarily to Huntington, Willard usually used the term to mean the Southern Pacific and its allies under the leadership in Los Angeles of the rotund, mustachioed political boss, Walter Parker. According to one investigator of this franchise giveaway, "Whatever may have been the precise facts, the circumstances surrounding the transaction aroused suspicion, and the ensuing public reaction may well have been the turning point in the fortunes of the machine and the reformers."³³ On several other occasions city councilmen also tried unsuccessfully to slip shady ordinances past Willard, the self-appointed peoples' guardian.

Willard's Municipal League continued to grow until 1907 when it reached a membership of 600, but Willard was increasingly plagued by declining health and unable to match his increased responsibilities. As a result, the league began to suffer. At the same time other groups had arisen to fill the reform limelight. As the *Times* observed, "Before there was as keen competition in the business of reforming, little whirlwinds followed in his



wake when Willard walked through the streets; but in these days of a dozen or more societies 'to purify the civic atmosphere,' he doesn't raise as much atmosphere. . . ."³⁴ The league's *Municipal Affairs* continued to reach its readers, but Willard became less active. His last direct political campaign, the recall of Mayor Arthur C. Harper in 1909, ended with his physical collapse.

Soon after the Harper recall, Willard resigned as secretary of the Municipal League and became first vice-president. Until his death five years later, Willard served unofficially as the senior advisor to Los Angeles reform efforts.³⁵

After his resignation from the league post, Willard became "editorial contributor" for the *Pacific Outlook*. Doing "work I can do—instead of work that I can't do,"³⁶ he also became the western counterpart of Theodore Roosevelt, an editorialist for the *New York Outlook*.

Founded in 1906, the *Pacific Outlook* was starving for both readers and revenue in 1909. Its circulation approximated 400. When Willard took his new job as editorial contributor, *Municipal Affairs* went with him as a one-page insert to the magazine. Although not the official publication of the Municipal League, *Pacific Outlook* added to its mailing all the members of the league.

For the first time in several years Willard was genuinely enthusiastic about life. In June, 1909, he wrote:

Willard saw political reform as a means, not an end. The real goal was . . . "giving a man a chance to be happy and develop the best that is in him."

I find it a great satisfaction to have a voice again to talk to the public, and I know I have about 5000 in the audience and they are picked people—so to speak. It is like coming to life again. Instantly I am put right into the thick of things—and it will steadily grow thicker. It happens that just now there is no strong substantial editorial work done in Los Angeles.³⁷

Writing an average of 5000 to 7000 words per week for the magazine in the next few years, Willard never lacked something to say. His subjects ranged from proposals to create a city Public Utilities Commission to a series of essays addressed to the new women voters in the state. Politicos searching for editorial support often went to Willard's home. Gubernatorial candidate Hiram Johnson visited the semi-invalid early in his campaign in 1910, and Willard's words were no small asset in the victorious crusade that is credited with breaking the Southern Pacific's political control of the state.

As he had done for years, Willard continued to absorb information from sources across the nation—newspapers, magazines, and the latest studies on politics and government. His visits to Los Angeles, combined with news furnished by visitors to his home near Pasadena and his busy telephone, kept him well informed. He was the best political barometer in Los Angeles, and his readership was compounded by the regular reprinting of his editorials in newspapers throughout the state.

By 1910 the refurbished Municipal League claimed a roll of 1000, but the *Pacific Outlook* was on shaky ground. In San Francisco the *California Weekly* was in the same state, mostly through a lack of advertising. Meyer Lissner, leader of the state's insurgent Republicans and

Willard's closest political associate, hence found the wherewithal to combine both publications into a new journal, the *California Outlook*. With Willard as its chief editorialist, the magazine became the main organ of the state's progressives.

Willard's style and choice of subjects changed little from his days with the *Express* in the late 1890's to his last editorials for the *California Outlook* in 1914. More often than not, Willard was an optimist. In his opinion, basic change had taken place in the nation, and most people recognized that man depended upon his fellow men and that there is an "utter futility of . . . individual effort when it reins counter to the general good."³⁸ This transformation had its roots in the 1880's, Willard believed, when miscellaneous organizations took form, all "comprehended under the term 'reform'." To Willard this was a word that had been "a bit overworked," and he welcomed the opportunity to use the new term "progressive" in place of the old.³⁹

More than many progressives, Willard saw political reform as a means, not an end. The real goal was social betterment—to "give a man a chance to be happy and develop the best that is in him."⁴⁰ The first line of attack for the reformer, Willard believed, should be the "simple uncontested issues of sanitation, honest taxation, good government, decent housing, control of the liquor traffic, juvenile courts, child labor legislation, playgrounds, and pure food laws." After that, reformers should turn to the more difficult issues such as "city government by experts, taxation of values in unimproved lands, income and inheritance taxes, old age pensions, prison reform, . . . abolition of the slum, public care of all indigent children, state insurance, and postal banks."⁴¹ No premature New Dealer, however, Willard believed that these responsibilities rightfully rested on local government, and he failed to foresee the day of massive federal programs to combat social ills.

In Willard's eyes progress was being made in municipal government. In 1905, he recalled, his textbook on

city government failed to sell, even though the text had been carefully screened by the publisher for touches of radicalism on issues such as civil service, bossism, municipal ownership, and direct legislation.⁴² By 1913, when many of its proposals had become common practice in American cities and its ideas were somewhat dated, sales made a marked advance.⁴³

In his last years, Willard's writing continued to draw influential visitors to his home. In 1912 both Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson came to meet him. Although the Democratic Willard was impressed by Wilson, his editorials supported the Rough Rider.⁴⁴

By mid-1913 subscribers to the *California Outlook* were reading the thoughts of a man who was unable to walk and whose doctors forbade him to speak in more than a whisper. Tuberculosis was slowly running its course, and Willard's contributions to the magazine slacked slightly when Chester H. Rowell and William Allen White joined him as editorial contributors.

At the end Willard was a man at peace with the world. His illness caused him only slight pain, and he also enjoyed a sense of success at his labors for his adopted city. Fulfilling his expectations of two decades earlier, Los Angeles contained over 300,000 thriving inhabitants in 1910. The city was also relatively free from political corruption, and at the end of the victorious election campaign of 1909 Willard offered this saccharine appraisal of his growing metropolis:

The occasion is historic and marks an epoch. . . . We love Los Angeles as few people living elsewhere love their city. Most of us are here not by chance of birth, but by deliberate choice and immigration. . . . "It is all perfect," we said to ourselves! "You see it is perfect," we said to our guests. But we knew that it was not. For all that we loved Los Angeles, we could not close our eyes to the truth; that it was bound with the double chain of a political and commercial serfdom. . . . We



Citizen Fixit there, of course.

The Los Angeles Times caricatured Willard's role as the meddling council member from the fictional Tenth Ward.

could not respect our city. We could not respect ourselves, while this continued. But it is over at last. Our city is free! The enemy is dislodged, defeated and driven forth, and now we can say with full hearts "Los Angeles is perfect. She is peerless among the cities of the world!" And we who fought in the foremost of the battle are the proudest and happiest of her children.⁴⁵

"Los Angeles is perfect." So believed the man who credited the California climate with prolonging his life by more than a quarter century. Boosting had been Willard's profession, but his expressions of love for the city were honest.

Early in 1914 Willard entered his last battle. Although his friend Lincoln Steffens called Willard one of the "fighters," there was no fight left.⁴⁶ Willard died quietly in his sleep on January 22. It was his fifty-fourth birthday.

The record left by Willard gives evidence of the close ties between promotion and reform in the progressive era. It details the development of one of the nation's most successful urban power elites and illuminates the conflict between a political machine cut from the traditional mold and a machine erected by reformers. Above all, his story brings into focus the motivations of a journalist who made his living from the crusades for the upbuilding and political cleansing of Los Angeles. As either city booster or progressive reformer, Charles Dwight Willard was a professional.

The photographs on pages 161, 163, and 165 are from the Title Insurance and Trust Collection, CHS Library. The portrait on page 159 is from *California Outlook*, January 31, 1914, courtesy Henry E. Huntington Library; on page 169 and 167, from the *Los Angeles Times*, November 3, 1906, and February 4, 1909; and on page 164, from *Southern Californians* "As We See 'Em" (E. A. Thompson, 1905).

Notes

1. For example, George E. Mowry's standard *The California Progressives* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U. of California Press, 1951), pp. 99, 331, gives Willard one quote and mentions him in a bibliographical note. John W. Caughey also includes Willard's name in the bibliography of his *California* (3rd ed., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), pp. 413, 646; and Spencer C. Olin, *California's Prodigal Sons* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: U. of California Press, 1968), pp. 5, 68, accords the Los Angeles Progressive several sentences. Robert M. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U. Press, 1967), pp. 213-215, 217, mentions Willard briefly. This article is based on the author's "Charles Dwight Willard: Los Angeles City Booster and Professional Reformer, 1888-1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1971).
2. Charles Dwight Willard to Mary Willard, April 29, 1888, Willard Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. All of the correspondence listed in this article is found in the Willard Collection.
3. Willard to Harriet Willard, April 17, 1888.
4. Willard to Harriet Willard, March 24, 1889.
5. Willard to Harriet Willard, January 6, 1889.
6. Willard to Harriet Willard, April 1, 1889.
7. Willard to Harriet Willard, September 6, 1889.
8. Willard, "The Fall of Ulysses," *The Argonaut*, XXIII (August 20, 1888): 4-5; "The Story's Story," unpublished ms., Willard Collection, Box 10.
9. The best account of the chamber in its early years is Willard's *History of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce* (Los Angeles: Kingsley-Barnes & Neuner Company, 1899).
10. *Pacific Outlook*, VI (June 5, 1909): 6-7.
11. Willard to Samuel Willard, March 19, 1891; Willard to Mary Willard [March ?, 1891].
12. Willard to Samuel Willard, September 26, 1891.
13. Willard, *Chamber of Commerce*, 143; 147.
14. Willard to Mary Willard, April 3, 1892. For an account of the magazine's beginnings, see Edwin R. Bingham, *Charles F. Lummis: Editor of the Southwest* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1955), pp. 36-50.
15. Although ignoring Willard's part in the story, the fullest treatment of Lummis is Dudley Gordon, *Charles F. Lummis: Crusader in Corduroy* (Los Angeles: Cultural Assets Press, 1972).
16. Willard to Samuel Willard, October 27, 1895.
17. On the Sunset Club, see *Annals of The Sunset Club of Los Angeles* (5 vols., Los Angeles: The Sunset Club of Los Angeles, 1895-1970); Homer D. Crotty, "Seventy Years Ago: The Birth of the Sunset Club" (Los Angeles: Sunset Club, 1965), and "Charles Dwight Willard, Founder of the Sunset Club" [n.p., 1914].
18. The harbor fight is covered by Willard, *The Free Harbor Contest*

- (Los Angeles: Kingsley-Barnes & Neuner Company, 1899), and Richard Webster Barsness, "The Maritime Development of San Pedro Bay, California, 1821-1921" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1963).
19. Willard to Samuel Willard, September 12, 1896.
 20. The best survey of political reform in the two decades leading to the election of Mayor George Alexander in 1910 is Albert Clodius, "The Quest for Good Government in Los Angeles, 1890-1910" (Ph.D. dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1953). Significant gaps in the story up to 1896 are filled by Culton, "Willard," 109-126.
 21. *Los Angeles Express*, February 24, 1898.
 22. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1898.
 23. *Free Harbor; Chamber of Commerce; and The Herald's History of Los Angeles City* (Los Angeles: Kingsley-Barnes & Neuner Co., 1901).
 24. The Associated Jobbers played an important part in the struggle between San Francisco and Los Angeles for economic supremacy in California. See Culton, "Willard," 167-182.
 25. Willard to Samuel Willard, October 5, 1901.
 26. Willard to Samuel Willard, January 13, 1902.
 27. *Los Angeles Express*, January 23; February 2, 1903.
 28. *Los Angeles Herald*, February 4, 1903.
 29. *Ibid.*, July 1, 19, 1903.
 30. *Los Angeles Express*, June 3, 1905.
 31. *Municipal Affairs*, I (September 1905): n.p.; II (February 1907): 6.
 32. Willard to Sarah Willard Hiestand, September 16, 1905.
 33. Clodius, "Good Government," 119. Accounts of the franchise giveaway vary slightly. One of Willard's accountings is "The Famous River Bed Franchise Deal," *Pacific Outlook*, VII (November 27, 1909): 6-7. Other sources include, *Los Angeles Express*, March 27-April 2, 1906; *Municipal Affairs*, I (May 1906): 9; and George E. Mowry, *The California Progressives*, 39.
 34. *Los Angeles Times*, clipping, no date, Willard Collection, Box 10.
 35. In 1912 Willard was renamed secretary of the Municipal League, serving until his death. His position, however, was mostly honorary.
 36. Willard to Mary Willard [June ? 1909].
 37. Willard to Sarah Willard Hiestand, June 24, [1909].
 38. *California Outlook*, XII (January 6, 1912): 15.
 39. *Ibid.*, XIII (July 6, 1912): 5.
 40. Willard to Theodore Roosevelt, April [?], 1911. Reprinted in *American Scholar*, III (Autumn 1934): 469.
 41. *Pacific Outlook*, VII (September 18, 1909): 3.
 42. Willard, *City Government for Young People* (New York and London: The Macmillan Company, 1906).
 43. *California Outlook*, XV (August 23, 1913): 5.
 44. *Los Angeles Express*, March 21, 1911; Willard to Sarah Willard Hiestand, March 31; August 22, 1911.
 45. Clipping, no date, Marshall Stimson, "Scrapbook," II, 59.
 46. Lincoln Steffens to Willard, April 15, 1909.

A PLATE OF BRASS

In December, 1577, Captain Francis Drake sailed from England on what was to be an archetypical voyage of privateering, exploration, and, possibly, discovery of unknown dominions. With plans to sack Spain's ports on the western shores of South America and to challenge Spanish hegemony over the Pacific Ocean, Drake and his remaining three ships passed without incident through the dread Strait of Magellan into a violent Pacific Ocean storm. One ship sank, and another returned to England. Now alone and headed up the coast, Drake raided the ports of Valparaiso and Callao de Lima, seized a Panama-bound galleon loaded with treasure from Peru, and escaped northward, looking for the fabled "Straits of Anian" which would lead to a Northwest Passage back to the Atlantic and England. Reaching as far north as what is Oregon and discouraged by "vile, thicke, and stinking fogges," Drake retreated south in search of a calm harbor in which to repair his leaking ship and replenish his supplies in preparation for crossing the Pacific.

On June 17, 1579, Drake sailed the Golden Hinde into "a faire and good Baye" near 38° north latitude where he and some sixty seamen spent thirty-six days building a fortress, careening and repairing the Golden Hinde, treating with the Indians, and exploring the surrounding countryside. On the eve of their departure they inscribed and erected a brass plate which claimed the territory for Queen Elizabeth and named it "Nova Albion," thereby issuing another challenge to Spain's strong imperial control. On July 23, Drake weighed anchor and departed the bay, sailing westward from his California harbor and reaching England in September of 1580, where he was knighted by Queen Elizabeth for his outstanding service.

Drake's remarkable voyage has fascinated cartographers and historians for centuries because his audacious adventure

marked not only the second circumnavigation of the globe but also the end of Spain's dominance of the Pacific. Drake's voyage raises other intriguing questions. For Britons, where in California did Drake declare the first non-Europeans to be the subjects of Queen Elizabeth? For Americans, where in what is now the United States did Englishmen first lay claim to North America some six years before the founding of the earliest English colony in America at Roanoke?

If Drake's log books or journal or charts could be found, there would be no uncertainty about the location of Drake's month-long encampment site. The location of Drake's Nova Albion fort has been fully debated in the Fall 1974 issue of the California Historical Quarterly. The evidence that Drake erected a plate of brass in California is undisputed. Both The Famous Voyage of Sir Francis Drake in Richard Hakluyt's The Principal Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries (1589) and The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake (1628) corroborate that Drake "set vp a monument of our being there . . . namely, a plate of brasse, fast nailed to a great and firme post. . . ."

The discovery in 1936 of an inscribed brass plate on a ridge overlooking San Francisco Bay appeared to bring to light the first physical evidence of Drake's presence in California. On the basis of scientific and historical tests, scholars accepted the authenticity of the plate for over thirty years, debating only the method of its deposit at the Marin County site. In July, 1977, however, the Bancroft Library, the repository of the plate, dropped a historical "bombshell" by seriously questioning its authenticity. In the following article, Mr. Power, the leading proponent of a San Francisco Bay landing site, develops a convincing counter case for the authenticity of the plate.

Editor's Note

By Me...C. G. Francis Drake



Photograph of the Plate of Brass.

On July 27, 1977, in the Bancroft Library at the University of California in Berkeley, James D. Hart, Director of the Library, and Helen V. Michel and Frank Asaro, scientists from Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, held a press conference to announce that "new tests cast serious doubts on the authenticity of the famous Plate of Brass, thought to have been left near San Francisco 398 years ago by Sir Francis Drake."¹ The press conference publicized Director Hart's newly published report titled *The Plate of Brass Re-examined 1977*, which indicated that all of the new evidence developed in the two-and-one-half years of investigations by the Bancroft Library was "essentially negative"² in establishing the Plate of Brass as an authentic sixteenth-century artifact.

The press release given to the assembled editors and news directors accentuated the "essentially negative" findings by quoting from Harvard historian Samuel Eliot Morison's book, *The European Discovery of America: The Southern Voyages* (Oxford University Press, 1974), that the plate was "a hoax perpetrated by some collegiate joker . . . as successful a hoax as the Piltdown Man or the Kensington Rune Stone."³ Near the end of the official university press release, Director Hart was quoted as having said, "Guesses about a hoax and reasons for not revealing it are intriguing. . . . [However] with a definitive answer as to the plate authenticity still lacking, it will remain on public view at Bancroft Library."⁴

Not surprisingly, reporters made the most of the conference announcement and escalated Director Hart's suggestion of possible inauthenticity into unquestioned fraud. An article in the *San Francisco Examiner* that afternoon began with the headline, "The Drake Plate: A

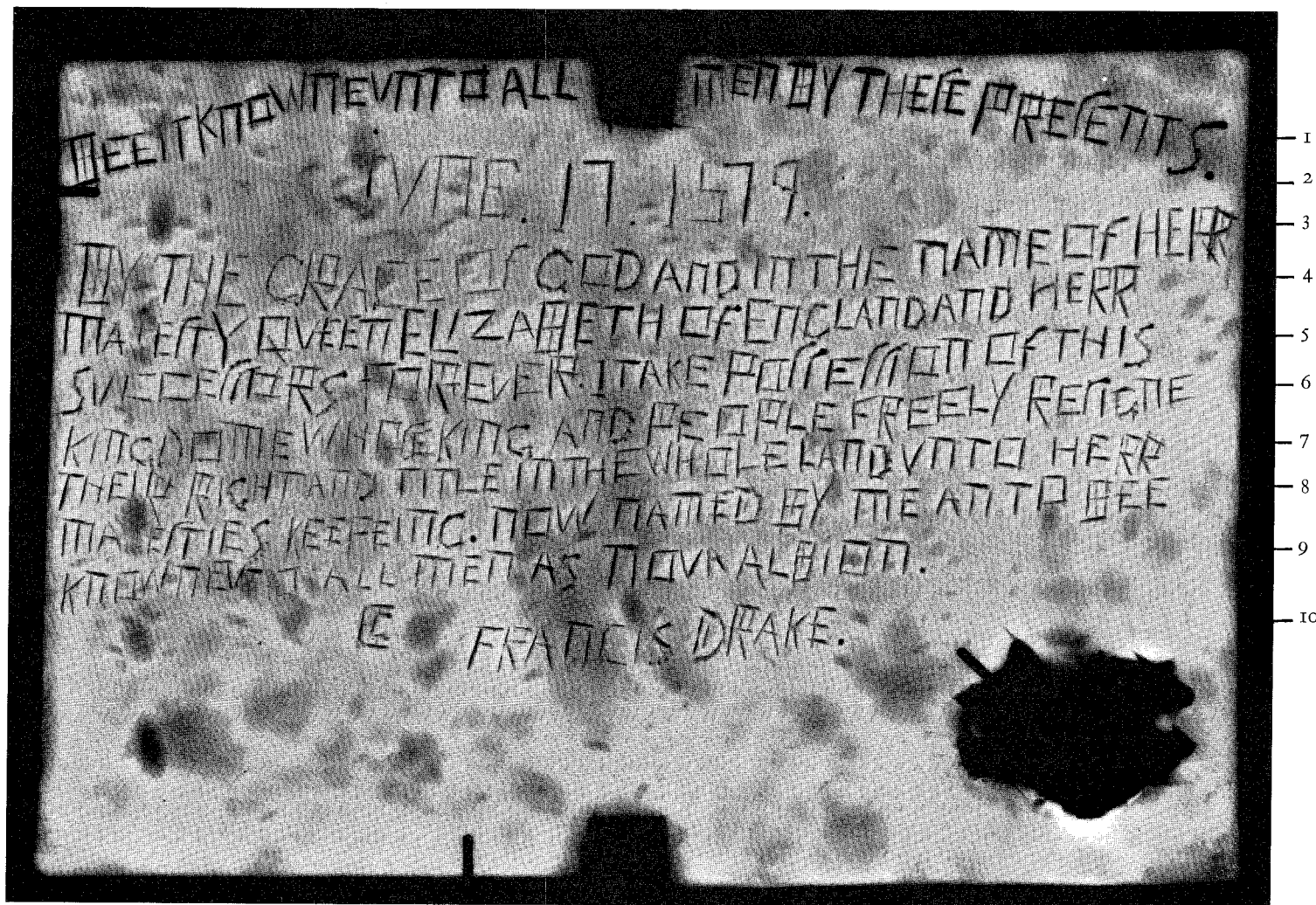
Hoax, U.C. Says." Two days later on July 29, 1977, the *Manchester Guardian* reported, "The battered metal plaque accepted for thirty years as Sir Francis Drake's claim . . . to . . . California as British territory 'forever' has turned out to be a student hoax." The international news story concluded with a reference to the scholar who first supported the plate's authenticity, "Professor [Eugene] Bolton seems to have been a victim of his own enthusiasm."

The Bancroft Library's report, however, did not warrant the reckless conclusions of the fifth estate, and the evidence presented in *Re-examined 1977* may not even have justified Director Hart's characterization of the new evidence concerning the plate's authenticity as "essentially negative." (It should be noted that "essentially negative" was generally taken to mean "evidencing against authenticity," whereas the term merely means "without value in settling the question being investigated.") *Re-examined 1977* focused on the investigation into the characteristics of the brass itself to the near exclusion of the plate's calligraphic characteristics. Because the metallurgical studies of the age of the plate were interpreted as "essentially negative," the linguistic studies were not pursued further.

Ironically, however, the metallurgical studies of the plate have inadvertently revealed significant calligraphic traits that were not noticed by the Bancroft's investigators. These discoveries would appear so significant in character as to challenge both *Re-examined 1977* and Director Hart's interpretation that the evidence developed was "essentially negative."
















This important and overlooked research appears in Appendix F of *Re-examined 1977* in a memorandum to Professor Hart dated October 7, 1976, from A. J. Schwarber of Lawrence Livermore Laboratory. It includes a radiograph or X-ray of the brass plate and the following comment, "The three letters J each apparently have a cross mark at their top, and a cusp at their bottom. These are partially obliterated by peening."⁵

Mr. Power is a past president of the Board of Trustees of CHS, a noted Drake scholar, and a member of the Sir Francis Drake Commission. His article "Drake's Landing in California: A Case for San Francisco Bay," appeared in the Summer 1973 *Quarterly*, and he was one of three contributors to the special Fall 1974 issue of the magazine which explored the Drake's landing site controversy in the form of a debate.



A revealing positive print made from a radiograph or X-ray of the Plate of Brass.

BLACK-LETTER INFLUENCE ON PLATE OF BRASS

PLATE OF BRASS	COMPARABLE SOURCE	
		1577 <i>Holinshed's Chronicles</i>
		1577 <i>Holinshed's Chronicles</i>
		1577 <i>Holinshed's Chronicles</i>
		Second-form R
		1561 <i>Chaucer (Trial M)</i>
		1561 <i>Chaucer</i>
		First-form N sans Serif
		1576 <i>Magna Charta (Trial N)</i>
		1561 <i>Chaucer</i> (Second-form N with Serif)
		1576 <i>Magna Charta</i>

Re-examined 1977 did not mention that the canceled J's were dotted and that three other and previously unknown calligraphic alterations were revealed by the radiograph. Collectively, these alterations, discovered after the publication of *Re-examined 1977*, have contributed the greatest single body of new knowledge about the Plate of Brass since it was first subjected to scientific evaluations in 1938. These new discoveries will be explored in depth, but a brief review of *Re-examined 1977* will first evaluate whether the evidence presented therein indeed warrants an "essentially negative" finding.

It was forty-two years ago that the Plate of Brass was discovered and pulled with effort by Beryle Shinn from the soil of a ridge overlooking San Francisco Bay. At no time in the first three decades after its discovery was the authenticity of the Plate of Brass effectively challenged, largely because of the efforts of Eugene Bolton and the Bancroft Library of which he was director in 1938. With the financial assistance of the California Historical Society, an inquiry into the authenticity of the plate was authorized by Bolton who arranged for Colin G. Fink of Columbia University and E. P. Polushkin and George R. Harrison of Massachusetts Institute of Technology to make any and all tests they deemed appropriate.⁶ Their evaluations, including a microscopic examination of a portion of the plate's patina, which has since been removed, led them to conclude that the Plate of Brass they examined was the one referred to in *The World Encompassed* (London, 1628) and not a facsimile made in modern times.

The first publicly effective charge questioning the plate's authenticity was made in 1974 by Admiral Morison, an esteemed historian with a towering reputation for exposing presumed frauds, the most recent to his credit being the Vineland Map. His charge that the Plate

of Brass was a student hoax, however, was without substantive foundation or justification,⁷ and the resulting worldwide shift in academic opinion was not justified by Morison's evidence. Morison's *European Discovery*, in fact, was illustrated with a retouched photograph of a tinfoil facsimile of the Bancroft's Plate of Brass made for the tourist trade by the McCoy Label Company of San Francisco.⁸

After Morison's hasty albeit influential pronouncement that the plate was a hoax, Director Hart solicited the scientific assistance in 1975 of Cyril Stanley Smith of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, R. E. M. Hedges of the Research Laboratory of Archeology and the History of Art at Oxford, A. J. Schwarber of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, and Helen V. Michel and Frank Asaro of the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory. In contrast to the dramatic conclusions drawn by the reports from Director Hart's remarks at his 1977 press conference, the experts' reports announcing the results of their studies present a mosaic of contradictory opinion.

Dr. Smith of MIT noted in conclusion to his study that he was "inclined to the opinion that the plate is a modern forgery." However, he concluded,

I firmly believe that evidence from the viewpoint of a material scientist is not sufficient to form an historical conclusion. . . . The best of scientific measurements are historically significant only when related to comparable material . . . excepting only those measurements of age that depend upon invariable radioactive decay. None of my remarks should be taken as firm evidence of modernity of the plate unless and until the same criteria have been applied with negative results to ancient material of undoubted provenance.⁹

In a similar vein, Dr. Hedges noted in a letter accompanying the Oxford test results that, "while the results of the analysis are consistently clear, I do not think they can provide unequivocal proof of the authenticity or the forgery of the plate." In the body of his report, Hedges concluded,

The Zn [zinc] content [in the Plate of Brass] is unusually



This unique and recently unraveled Elizabethan monogram stands for C[aptain] G[eneral], the rank held by navigator Francis Drake.



The I and J were identical in printed Elizabethan texts, except in lowercase Roman letters where the distinct J form first appeared. When the J was lowercase, it was always dotted, as in the letter from the 1561 edition of Chaucer (left). The incisor of the Plate of Brass followed the practice of placing a dot over the J's before altering them into the usual I form of J.

Julij

One example of the use of J in text printed in London circa 1577 is exhibited by this italic type face in Latin text in John Dee's Art of Navigation, London, 1577. The uppercase form of the I/J is dotted. The regular Roman type face text in Dee's work uses the I form for J in both upper and lowercase.

*In the background of this fanciful 1706
rendering of Drake's visit to Nova Albion,
Drake's men raise the "plate of brasse
fast nailed to a great and firme post."*

high, but two examples of Elizabethan brass have been found with only 1% less Zn. . . . The analytical evidence cannot, therefore, be used to support the contention that the brass is of the Elizabethan period . . . [nor can] the evidence . . . be used to argue the brass is of a much later period.¹⁰

It remained for Drs. Michel and Asaro of the Lawrence Laboratory to make the most definitive findings. They alone among the experts stated, "The Plate of Brass . . . was made in the eighteenth to twentieth centuries."¹¹

Smith and Hedges' conclusions are clearly less than conclusive. Both men acknowledged that the plate *might* be false, but *might* be genuine. The definitely presented conclusion offered by Michel and Asaro, on the other hand, may be founded upon insufficient data.

A problem confronting the researchers, one which has no adequate methodological resolution, was the limited amount of identifiable sixteenth-century sheet brass from various parts of the world available to be included in the data for comparison. Furthermore, an obvious omission from the data base was sixteenth-century Portuguese trade brass.

Another point raised in the case against the Plate of Brass by *Re-examined 1977* is the opinion expressed by Dr. Smith that the Drake plate is formed of rolled, not hammered, brass. The Bancroft Library attempted to validate this observation by the use of gamma-ray absorption studies to determine uniformity of thickness. In a personal interview with Dr. Smith, however, he advised the author that this is not a definitive method of determining whether brass has been rolled or hammered. Recently, the Bancroft Library has ordered a molybdenum X-ray test as a possible means of determining the plate's grain orientation, a factor which differs in hammered brass and rolled brass, at least as produced in modern times. Our limited historical knowledge about sixteenth-century methods of forming sheet brass, however, could make difficult a proper interpretation of the molybdenum X-ray test now being conducted at the Lawrence Laboratory in Berkeley.

Dr. Smith raised other questions about how the Plate of Brass was formed, as well. He believed that the plate had been cut into its rectangular shape by shearing rather than by chiseling, which indicated to him an origin later than the sixteenth-century. The Bancroft Library had the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory follow up with greatly enlarged photographs of the plate's edge which tend to support Smith's opinion, but the definitive ballistic-type study was never undertaken.

How was the Plate of Brass formed into a plate of consistent thickness, shaped into a rectangle, incised with letters, and cut to accommodate two spikes and an implanted silver sixpence? "Questions unanswered," not "negative evidence," characterize this portion of the 1977 report.

Re-examined 1977 regarded the linguistics and calligraphy of the Drake plate as only peripheral in importance to its dating and relegated that study to a brief and shallow appraisal based on casual observation by authorities and nonauthorities alike. Director Hart explained, "These inquiries concerning the inscription were literally and figuratively surface matters that could help to determine authenticity only if the brass was found to be of sixteenth-century origin."¹² Because the results of the metallurgical tests were inconclusive, however, it is obvious that the calligraphic characteristics of the Plate of Brass should have received additional study before an "essentially negative" result was announced. From *Re-examined 1977*, it seems apparent that no unequivocal answer regarding the age of the brass can ever be made until a radioactive-decay dating system is devised to age-date brass. In the interim, I would suggest, the most useful study might be one investigating the inscription itself.

In his brief references to the plate's inscription, Direc-



tor Hart reported that Professor Thomas S. Barnes of the University of California at Berkeley was “disturbed . . . because he could not think of any instance in which a common person performed an act and declares that he does it by the ‘grace of God.’”¹³ Recently, however, this author discovered a seemingly parallel sample of Elizabethan expression in John Dee’s *The Perfect Art of Navigation* (London, 1577). Drake’s chief patron, Christopher Hatton, published that book while the voyage was in the height of preparation, and Drake most certainly carried with him a copy on the *Golden Hinde*. In the book, Dee, a commoner, states: “Then, By Gods grace, we may (comfortably) thus Answer this first Dowt, In the name of the whole Body Politicall.” This expression of thought is a close parallel to the Plate of Brass which reads: “BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND IN THE NAME OF HERR MAIESTY QVEEN

ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND . . . I TAKE POSSESSION.” Morison, on the other hand, thought that the phrase “By the Grace of God” should be found in the plate’s text after the word “Elizabeth” and before “of England.” It should be observed, however, that Elizabeth’s full title appeared on the Drake plate by the inclusion of a silver sixpence which bore the Latin inscription, “ELIZABETH. D:G: ANG. FRA. ET. H. REGINA.” There was clearly no need to repeat Elizabeth’s full title in the brief English text of the Plate of Brass and therefore no need for the second “By the Grace of God” after “Elizabeth” as called for by Morison.¹⁵

A further illustration that God’s name was invoked before the Queen’s name is found in the words of Drake’s Chaplain Fletcher himself, who observed on September 6, 1578, the date the *Golden Hinde* left the Strait of Magellan: “We resolved . . . to do as wee had don to our

Examples abound in printed Elizabethan books of mixed black letter and Roman letter styles.

**The latter kinde of Reduction by crosse Multiplcation
is already shewed in the Examples of Addition. but for
more playnesse I wil giue one other Example.**

C.ii.

12

Thomas Digges, *Stratoticos* (London, 1579)

**Imprinted at London in Fleet
streete within Temple barre
at the Signe of the Hand and
Starre, by Richard Tottel,
the 8. day of March.
1576.
✱✱✱**

Richard Tottell, *Magna Charta, Cumstatutis* . . . (London, 1576)

**The Epistle of the authour.
To the most adowned, and
best deseruyng to be reueren-
ced of al that loue the know-
ledge of the Mathematicks,
Abraham Ortelius of
Andwarp.**

Humfrey Lhuyd, *The Breviary of Britayne* (London, 1574)

good God and in deity to her majesty in other places, and sett up a monument for her Highness upon the cape for a witness of our passing that way.”¹⁶

Other doubts about the plate’s inscription were expressed by Ms. Leatia Yeandle of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., who observed in a letter to Director Hart that “the spelling is surprisingly modern except “HERR” [for “Her”] which is not in O[xford] E[nglish] D[ictionary].”¹⁷ A careful comparison of the spellings on the Plate of Brass, however, with that found in *The World Encompassed*, published in 1628, demonstrates that the Plate of Brass is less modern than *The World Encompassed*.¹⁸ Therefore, the question to be answered is whether the plate’s spelling is Elizabethan or the slightly later Jacobean, if there is in fact a discernible difference. Ms. Yeandle asked, “Why is the only lowercase letter [on the plate] a long S?”¹⁹ A closer examination, in fact, reveals four lowercase *F*’s, each appearing in the word “Of” (see lines 3, 4, and 5 of plate X-ray). All of the upper and lowercase *S*’s on the Plate of Brass follow the use rules practiced in *The World Encompassed* except the first *S* in “SVCESSORS” (line 5) which is an uppercase *S* on the Plate of Brass and a lowercase *S* in *The World Encompassed*. Why is there this one variant in eighteen uses of the letter *S* if it is in fact an inscription derived from *The World Encompassed* in modern times?

Director Hart also reported that Wayne Shumaker of the Department of English at UC Berkeley wondered why a forger would have “invented unknown letter forms [such as *B*, *P*, *R*, *M* and *N*]. . . . As for the letters,” Shumaker continued, “who can know the source of their odd forms. The first of the odd letters, *B*, may have suggested to the inscriber . . . a pious cross.”²⁰ On the contrary, I submit, a “forger” did not invent any “unknown letter forms”; the source of the “odd forms” is the English “black letter” or so called “gothic” or “Old English” letter form, widely used in sixteenth-century England. The precisely made *R* in “GRACE” (line 3) is a key to identifying the inscriber’s inspiration. In that

carefully formed letter, the top of the bulb of the *R* ends at the middle, as in the uppercase black letter forms of *P* and *R* as used in a contemporary printed book, *Holinshed's Chronicles*, published in London in 1577. On the other hand, the top of the upper bulb of the uppercase *B* in *Holinshed's Chronicles* touches both the outer and middle vertical strokes, a feature incorporated into the design of the *B* on the Plate of Brass.

Ms. Yeandle of the Shakespeare Library thought the extra horizontal stroke over the *N* and *M* letters strange, more so when it is superfluous over the *M* as in "NAME" (line 3),²¹ while Dr. Shumaker at Berkeley thought that extra horizontal stroke to be "sheer error."²² If these researchers had looked at a 1561 black-letter copy of Chaucer, however, they would have noticed the amazing similarity of the original *M* form in "NAME" and the uppercase page-heading for "THE MONKES TALE." After the plate's inscriber experimented with cutting an uppercase black-letter style for the *M* and *N*, he apparently opted for the simpler lowercase style for the *M* and *N* and made a single horizontal stroke to achieve that design, including in most instances thereafter a small left-hand overhang or serif on both letters. The Chaucer page caption for "The Man of Lawes Tale" clearly illustrates the lowercase form of both the *M* and *N* with the characteristic serif in the upper left-hand corner.

Commentators in *Re-examined 1977* on the letter styles of the plate unanimously identified the *B*, *P*, *R*, *N*, and *M* as "odd," as the work of an "unlettered workman," and "a little strange,"²³ and those criticisms were interpreted by Director Hart as supportive of his "essentially negative" conclusion. The authorities, however, had uniformly selected out all but one of the Old English black letters, but they did not recognize this as the case.

There is no reasonable scenario explaining why a forger would have created a half-dozen Old English black-letter style letters so obscure in design as to remain unrecognized until now. On the other hand, it is very

A "forger" did not invent any "unknown letter forms"; the source of the "odd forms" is the English black letter . . . widely used in sixteenth-century England.

reasonable to assume that an Elizabethan who read the literature of his times which mixed Roman and black-letter styles on the same page, in the same sentence, and even on occasion in the same word could have unconsciously created a mix of letter styles like that which appears on the Plate of Brass.

The Lawrence Livermore Laboratory's very significant radiograph, a positive print of which became the single photograph in *Re-examined 1977*, offers more information which supports an authentic judgment on the plate. A. J. Schwarber of the laboratory reported to Director Hart that the radiograph showed that three *J*'s in the text were "partially obliterated by peening."²⁴ Director Hart reported the opinions of various authorities establishing that the letter *J* was just coming into use in England at the time of the Drake voyage as a variant on the letter *I* and that a case for either forgery or authenticity could be based on these three canceled *J*'s (in lines 2, 4, and 8). Unanswered, however, was why a forger would have ignored the *I* form of *J* used in *The World Encompassed*, engraved his *J*'s, and then erased or peened them to create *I*'s as used in his original published model.

Not reported in the 1977 document was that all three *J*'s were dotted. This dotting means either that these *J*'s were lowercase in form like the *S* and *F*, *M*, and *N*, or that they were a variant capital form used only in Elizabethan times. The principal use of *J* in published works at the time of the Drake voyage was as a lowercase Roman numeral and in Latin text, where the *J* was always dotted.²⁵

¹ BEE IT KNOWNE VNTO ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS. ²
^{3 4} ⁵
 IVNE . 17 . 1579.
⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹
 BY THE GRACE OF GOD AND IN THE NAME OF HERR
¹² ¹³
 MAIESTY QVEEN ELIZABETH OF ENGLAND AND HERR
¹⁴ ¹⁵
 SVCCCESSORS FOREVER. I TAKE POSSESSION OF THIS
¹⁶
 KINGDOME WHOSE KING AND PEOPLE FREELY RESIGNE
 THEIR RIGHT AND TITLE IN THE WHOLE LAND VNTO HERR
¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹
 MAIESTIES KEEPEING. NOW NAMED BY ME AN TO BEE
²⁰ ²¹
 KNOWNEVTO ALL MEN AS NOVA ALBION.
²² ²³ ²⁴
 CG FRANCIS DRAKE.

1. "IT" was originally "YT." The upper strokes of the Y were visually canceled by hammering, but the original inscription is revealed in the radiograph.
2. The form of the N in "PRESENTS" was the result of experimenting on the N in "NAME" (line 3). This suggests that line 1 was the last line engraved as an addendum to the original text.
The radiograph also shows a difference in cutting results between line 1 and the other lines. The letters in line 1 are deeper and better formed, suggesting that the plate had been heated to cut the hole and notches and that it was still relatively malleable when the top line was cut.
3. The original text was "IVNE," canceled by hammering and altered to become "IVNE."
4. The *World Encompassed* uses the U rather than V in "IVNE." However, in Elizabethan times V was an uppercase form of U.
5. The 1628 first edition of *The World Encompassed* does not contain this rarely used period placed between the month and the day, but the 1652 edition does use the punctuation "IVNE. 17."
6. The R is clearly Old English black-letter in style. The B's, P's and two of the D's are also reflective of black-letter design.
7. The F's in the word "OF" appearing four times in lines 3, 4, and 5 are all lowercase, while the F's in "FREELY" and "FRANCIS" are uppercase.
8. The plate's wording reflects a thought expressed in John Dee's *The Perfect Art of Navigation* (London, 1577): "By God and Ovr Good Qveen" (p. 19) and "Remember Both God, and Queene" (p. 21).
9. The incisor first attempted to improve his N form by mak-

- ing a slight dome reflective of the uppercase black letter. He then abandoned the idea and over-canceled with a single horizontal stroke which overhung the left vertical stroke. This left-hand overhang creates a second state "N."
10. The M was first made in the uppercase black letter and then canceled for the easier lowercase M form. However, the lowercase M and N forms are still used as capital letter forms in simplified gothic type alphabets.
11. Apparently, the original plan necessitated by the limited space left in the right margin was to spell "HERR" with a single R. The incisor's editor apparently ordered a second R crowded into the text. It is clearly an angrily made letter, more crude than any other letter on the plate.
12. The I was a J until canceled by hammering.
13. "QVEEN" appears only as the possessive "QUEENES" in *The World Encompassed*. The other variance is the uppercase V on the plate and the lowercase U in *The World Encompassed*.
14. *The World Encompassed* uses a lowercase S at the beginning of "successors" and the lowercase U form in place of V.
15. A very early use of the combined "FOREVER." For instance, John Dee (London, 1577) uses "FOR EVER" in his text. *Oxford English Dictionary* suggests the combined form was used "chiefly" in the United States. Perhaps an accidental crowding of the two words occurred on the Plate. "Forever" in the combined form appears to be the one word that appears on the Plate of Brass, but is not found in known Elizabethan texts.
16. Original "WHOS" canceled into "WHOSE." The change from the external uppercase S to the internal lowercase s establishes that the original spelling was deliberate, not an error caused by forgetting to incise the E.

17. The I in "MAIESTIES" was originally a J form which, like the other J's was canceled.
18. "KEEPEING" is spelled "KEEPING" in *The World Encompassed*, but "keep" is spelled "keepe."
19. "AN" is a very rare form of this word, usually found only in poetry.
20. The original text read "KNOWNE TO." It now reads "KNOWNEVTO," with the N never having been struck.
21. "NOVA" does not appear in *The World Encompassed*, which incorrectly declares that the land was named "ALBION."
22. The use of "CG" is unique in Drake literature as an abbreviation of Drake's full title of "Captain General." However, *The World Encompassed* peculiarly concludes its description of Drake's "plate of brass" with the statement that "underneath was likewise engraven the name of our 'Generall &c.'" This suggests that the original manuscript contained an ampersand and "c" following the title of "Generall" to reflect the use of "CG" on the Plate of Brass. The printer may have taken it to be a symbol for "and so forth" and printed it without a space between the "&" and the "c."
23. The period after Drake is very correct, and it appears in the signature of Francis Drake in the 1628 edition of *The World Encompassed*.
24. The Plate of Brass carried an addendum to the text by the incorporation of a silver sixpence into the plate near Drake's signature. The inscription on the front of the silver "seal" read: "ELIZABETH.D.G: ANG. FRA. ET. H. REGINA." The reverse read: "POSVI DCV: AD IVTORE M: MEV." 15--.

Equally observable in the radiograph, although unnoticed by the Bancroft investigators, were several other corrections in spellings and word forms. For instance, inscribed underneath “WHOSE” is “WHOS” (line 6), with the regular uppercase *S* and no *E*. This correction of spelling would have been done only by an Elizabethan.²⁶ Also unnoticed by the *Re-examined 1977* authorities was that the plate had a correction in the final sentence of its text (line 9). The original inscription read “KNOWNE TO ALL MEN,” but that was changed to read “KNOWNVTO ALL MEN” with the *N* in “V[N]TO” never struck. Historian Paul Ward observed that “VTO” is an Elizabethan symbol for “VNT0,” and therefore the insertion of the *V* without the *N* to create the word “VNT0” is not inconsistent with Elizabethan calligraphy, even though in this case the horizontal line above the *V* is absent. The Bancroft Library’s new brochure, however, continues to state that the plate reads, “KNOWN VNT0 ALL MEN.”

Still another correction visible in the radiograph is “BEE IT KNOWNE” (line 1) which originally read “BEE YT KNOWNE.” Again, Paul Ward demonstrated that both forms were used in Elizabeth’s England. Corrected manuscripts were not uncommon in Elizabethan England, and it was believed that it was more important to be correct than neat.

Further, *Re-examined 1977* makes no comment about the disclosure in the radiograph that the letter in the signature long presumed to be a *G* for General (in line 10) is in fact a *C* for Captain. The brochure distributed by the Bancroft Library reproducing the radiograph still transcribes that letter as a *G*. The radiograph revealed another surprise, namely a figure inside the letter *C*. Arthur Norberg, of the History of Science and Technology Program, who supervised the *Re-examined 1977* project, subsequently correctly observed that the new figure was an inner *G* with three hairline supports tying it to the *C*. This monogram composed of a *C* and a *G* is clearly a symbol for Drake’s full title, “Captaine

Corrected manuscripts were not uncommon in Elizabethan England, and it was believed that it was more important to be correct than to be neat.

General.” Early in *The World Encompassed*, Drake is identified as “Captain” and in a subsequent list of ships and commanders of the expedition as “Captaine generall Francis Drake. . . .” Throughout the rest of the account, he is termed “our General.”²⁷ This neat monogram formed by the letters *C* and *G* is a unique abbreviation that strongly suggests authenticity.

Another subtlety of the brass manuscript that is pure Drake, although sufficiently obscure to have escaped the notice of virtually all researchers to date, is the phrase “BY ME” (line 8) in the sentence “NOW NAMED BY ME AN TO BE KNOWNE TO ALL MEN AS NOVA ALBION.” In a little known incident in Panama, Drake inscribed his gold toothpick with the phrase “By me Francis Drake,” as identification to be carried by a native messenger. The phrase is distinctively Drake’s, yet it is an extremely unlikely prospect that any forger would know it and use it.

Equally as unlikely in a hoax is the use of the word “NOW” on the Plate of Brass. *The World Encompassed* does indicate by its placement in the narrative that Drake coined the place-name “Albion” after he had dispatched his “necessary business . . . and . . . made a journey up into the land” and before he “set vp . . . a plate of brasse”²⁸ at the time of departure. The “NOW” on the Plate of Brass also indicates that “Nova Albion” had been coined at about the time the Plate of Brass was ordered for lettering. Furthermore, *The World Encompassed*, which was the required model for any hoax, does not use the place name “Nova Albion,” but the incor-

ALTERATION OF THE LETTERS OR SPELLINGS
ON THE PLATE OF BRASS

ORIGINAL	CORRECTED
YT	IT
j	I
n	n
m	m
HER	HERR
j	I
WHOS	WHORE
j	I
TO	VT

rect, abbreviated place name, "Albion."

Another fact of "essentially negative" evidence in *Re-examined 1977* is reputedly the absence of corrosion in the Drake plate "after centuries of exposure in the moist coastal environment where chlorides are present."²⁹ Dr. Smith, who found this "highly suspicious," was apparently unaware that Beryle Shinn had pulled the plate free from the soil over twenty miles east of the open ocean and that the absence of chloride corrosion is a trait compatible with the discovery site. It has been suggested by numerous people since 1937 that the plate might have been carried from a coastal harbor to its San Quentin discovery site. However, in 1954 a plausible explanation of why the Plate of Brass was found at Point San Quentin came to light when it was discovered that the geography of northern San Francisco Bay was compatible in form to the *Portus Novae Albionis*, an inset showing Drake's landing site on Jodocus Hondius' world map, *Vera Totius Expeditionis Nauticae* [London, 1589]. In that comparison Drake's fort appears to be located at Point San Quentin in the same general area where Shinn found his plate.³⁰

The San Francisco Bay Area was further identified with the Drake voyage in 1974 when archaeologist Charles Slaymaker discovered a 1567 silver sixpence fourteen miles north of Point San Quentin in the midden of the regions' principal Indian village now called Rancho Olómpali. The discovery horizon of the coin was dated by carbon 14 tests at 1600 A.D. ± 75 years. corrosion is compatible with the evidence that San Francisco Bay was the place of Drake's landing, and only if another landing is established could this absence of corrosion be "essentially negative" evidence about the plate's authenticity.

Additional clues to the authenticity of the plate found in the inscription—and the great unlikelihood of these elements being forged—are too myriad and complex to be detailed here. Certainly they warrant further study and discussion by experts. Considering that the

metallurgical tests on the plate were inconclusive, that evaluations of the engraving tools were not made, that the unusual letter forms have been identified with Elizabethan script, and that the extraordinary radiograph reveals previously unknown Elizabethan elements in the inscription, there should be no doubt that *Re-examined* 1977 was only a small first step in a comprehensive investigation into the origin of the Bancroft Plate of Brass signed “C G Francis Drake.”

In the meantime, the present body of available evidence strongly indicates that The Bancroft Library has in its collection an authentic Elizabethan manuscript, inscribed on sixteenth-century brass, that had been erected at the Port of Nova Albion in the summer of 1579 by order of “C[aptain] G[eneral] Francis Drake.”

The photograph of the plate and the radiograph are courtesy the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. All other illustrations—including the 1706 rendering of Drake’s visit, published in *Drie Voornaame Zee-Togten van Franciscus Draak, Na America, Door de Suyd-Zee, Le Leyden*, by Pieter Vanden Aa, *Boekverkooper*, 1706—are courtesy the author.

Notes

1. Office of Public Information, Berkeley Campus, University of California 7/26/77—KOUÉ—File 6595.
2. James D. Hart, *The Plate of Brass Re-examined*, 1977 (Berkeley: The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1977), p. 25. The full quotation reads, “Obviously the evidence it (the report) assembles has turned out to be essentially negative.” In the press release, Hart is quoted as saying, “Although the investigators involved in the recent tests did not flatly state the plate is a forgery, the assembled evidence has turned out essentially negative.”
3. Press Release, 2, 6.
4. *Ibid.*, 8.
5. *Re-examined* 1977, p. 80.
6. Colin G. Fink, E. P. Polushkin, *Drake’s Place of Brass Authenticated* (San Francisco, 1938).
7. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The European Discovery of America: Southern Voyages* (New York, 1974), p. 680. “In my opinion, the Plate is a hoax perpetrated by some collegiate joker.” Morison was aware of the plate’s complex patina with mineralized plant cells affixed to the outer surface of the plate, but he did not report that critical point to his readers.
8. *Ibid.*, 688. Advised of the error of using a retouched photograph of a tinfoil facsimile of the Plate of Brass as visual evidence that the plate was a hoax, Morison and Oxford University Press refused to correct subsequent printings, thereby invalidating opinions based on the book’s subchapter, “The Plate of Brass.”
9. *Re-examined*, 1977, p. 75.
10. *Ibid.*, 37, 43.
11. Helen V. Michel and Frank Asaro chemical study of the Plate of Brass, Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, University of California.
12. *Re-examined* 1977, p. 17.
13. *Ibid.*, 16.
14. John Dee, *The Perfect Art of Navigation* (London, 1577), p. 27.
15. Morison, *European Discovery*, p. 679–80.
16. “Drake’s Second Voyage,” F. Fletcher, Typewriter Transcript of Manuscript in British Museum (Library), Sloane MS. No. 61, circa 1925. Margin Note: “The 6th of Sept: 1578.”
17. *Re-examined* 1977, p. 15.
18. For instance, the Plate of Brass’ words “KEEPEING,” “AN,” and “HERR” are spelled in *The World Encompassed* as “keeping,” “and,” and “her.”
19. *Re-examined* 1977, p. 15.
20. *Ibid.*, 14.
21. *Ibid.*, 15.
22. *Ibid.*, 14.
23. Statements by Wayne Shumaker, Alan Nelson, and Leatia Yeandle, *ibid.*, 14–15.
24. *Re-examined* 1977, p. 80.
25. Both the 1628 and 1652 editions of *The World Encompassed* used the *I* form of *J* in “IUNE” in the margin note, page 64; however, the text in the 1652 edition uses an uppercase italic *J* in “JUNE”, page 64, and a lowercase dotted *j* in “Majesties”, page 80. This could suggest a forger was working from a 1652 edition and then corrected it against the very rare 1628 edition. This still leaves unresolved why a forger would have dotted the cancelled *J* in “IVNE” on the Plate of Brass.
26. There is no model in familiar Drake literature for the “WHOS” spelling used in the first incision on the Plate of Brass. The change from the external *S* form to the internal *S* form demonstrates that the *E* was a purposeful deletion, not an oversight. “WHOS” is a natural Elizabethan variant spelling of “WHOSE,” but there is no reason for a hoaxer to use this variant spelling and then cancel it.
27. Page 7 in *The World Encompassed* (1628 ed.) should have been numbered p. 3.
28. *Ibid.*, 79, 80.
29. *Re-examined* 1977, p. 30.
30. Robert H. Power, “Portus Novae Albionis Rediscovered?”, *Pacific Discovery Magazine*, May–June, 1954.

Gary F. Kurutz

“Courtesy of Title Insurance and Trust Company” —

*The Historical Collection at
CHS' Los Angeles History Center*

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

Students and scholars of Southern California history have long been familiar with both the photograph credit line, “Courtesy of Title Insurance and Trust Company,” and the historic photographs of C. C. Pierce. In 1977, Title Insurance and Trust Company of Los Angeles generously donated its famous Historical Collection to the California Historical Society. Consisting of 18,650 positive prints and 13,500 negatives, this pictorial archive superbly documents the history of Los Angeles and its environs from the 1860's to the 1930's. Long housed at the company's Spring Street building, the collection has been transferred to the Society's new History Center at 6300 Wilshire Boulevard. As a result of this momentous donation, the Society will be able to offer for the first time in Southern California a collection of great magnitude and scholarly significance.

Title Insurance and Trust Company of Los Angeles established its Historical Collection in 1941 with the purchase of the prints and negatives of the pioneer Los Angeles photographer, Charles C. Pierce. From that date, the company used this rich resource for its own promotional purposes and made the collection available to historians and pictorial researchers. The collection achieved its greatest eminence under the energetic and able direction of company historian William Wilcox Robinson and his assistant Dolores Nariman. Robinson himself used the collection to illustrate a series of company publications on the history of various local cities and counties, as well as for the highly respected *Panorama, A Picture History of Southern California* (1953). Recognizing the contributions of Pierce in understanding the history of Los Angeles, Robinson wrote in the acknowledgments, “In part this picture-history is a tribute to the memory of the indefatigable C. C. Pierce.”

The heart of this Historical Collection has always been the “C. C. Pierce Collection of Rare, Historical and Curious Photographs, Illustrating California, the Pacific

Mr. Kurutz is CHS Library Director.



Photographer Charles C. Pierce came to Los Angeles in 1886 and recorded the area's history with his camera until his death in 1946. Photo courtesy Henry E. Huntington Library.

The staff of J. B. Blanchard's Plaza Gallery in 1890. Pierce worked in this adobe structure before opening his Tourist View Depot.



Coast and the Southwest.” Pierce, from the time of his arrival in Los Angeles in 1886 to the sale of his collection in 1941, created the single finest photographic record devoted to the Los Angeles area. As a consequence, it is not surprising that historians and curators have reproduced Pierce photographs to embellish scores of books, articles, exhibitions, and films.

Despite the photographer’s great contribution in visually preserving the history of Southern California, he remains an enigmatic figure in the scantily documented history of Los Angeles photography. According to avail-

able evidence, the photographer was born in 1853 and moved to Los Angeles from Chicago in 1886 in search of good health. Apparently the environment of the Los Angeles Basin soothed his afflictions, enabling him to live to the grand age of 93.

When Pierce migrated to the Southland, the local papers were boasting, “Los Angeles is booming and is likely to boom for years.” Sensing the transformation of the “Queen of the Cow Counties” to a growing city, Pierce set out to take the town. As the story goes, Pierce first survived economically by going from house to



Blanche Stuart Scott, the first American woman aviator, posed here in the plane she flew in the Dominguez Field Meet of 1912. She flew until 1916 but never secured a pilot's license.

house and business to business, persuading the proprietors to permit him to take pictures of their homes and buildings. This door-to-door approach resulted in a superb documentary of the "booming" city during that volatile era.

Like many of his fellow professionals, Pierce engaged in many partnerships and frequently moved his business. Financially, few young photographers could survive on their own. The first mention of Pierce in the local directories appears in 1888. According to the entry, the Chicago photographer was located at 532 Downey Avenue in partnership with Albert W. Lohn.

In 1890, Pierce moved into the center of town by obtaining a position with J. B. Blanchard. The latter operated the well-known Plaza Gallery in a quaint adobe not far from the old Plaza Church. In a short time, however, Pierce dissolved that relationship and moved to the north part of the same building with A. E. McConnell. There, the two conducted a view and commercial photograph business known as the Tourist View Depot.

By the turn-of-the-century, Pierce possessed enough means to establish his own gallery at 313 South Spring Street. At one time, the noted Southern California writer J. Smeaton Chase worked in the studio. Apparently, C. C. Pierce and Company flourished, as the photographer expanded the business by opening a supply shop specializing in Kodaks. Haddie G. Pierce (probably his wife) served as the company's secretary and treasurer.

As the business grew, Pierce moved from the downtown area out to 1572 West Pico Street. From that location, the photographer expanded his historical collection for commercial purposes. Assembling a selection of over 14,000 historic photographs, Pierce produced 6" x 8" and 8" x 10" views in quantity and even made enlargements on bromide paper for museums, libraries, and private collections.

Because of his interest in preserving and collecting history, Pierce did not limit himself to his own work.



Undoubtedly his assistants added to the C. C. Pierce Historical Collection. As well, he copied the works of his contemporaries and those pioneer photographers who photographed the city in the 1860's and 1870's. For this practice Pierce has been mildly criticized, but his overall contributions cannot be minimized.

Pierce died in 1946 after sixty fruitful years of recording the changing face of Southern California with his camera. Fortunately, his works have been preserved in a number of locations. While the corpus of his negatives and prints were acquired by Title Insurance and Trust Company, the Huntington Library purchased over 10,000 of his views. As well, Pierce photos may be found at the Los Angeles Museum of Natural History, the University of California, Los Angeles, and Security Pacific National Bank.

The general contents of the collection are described in a brochure Pierce produced from his Pico Street studios. The subject matter reflects the interests of that era, and some of the prints can be described as ridiculous or humorous by today's standards. For example, Pierce included staged scenes of outlaws robbing coaches and

In the early 1900's, like today, Southern Californians flocked to the ocean on warm days, turning the sandy beaches into a congested tangle of horses and buggies.

Dressed in its finest uniforms, the Los Angeles Bicycle Squad pedaled down Broadway during the May 24, 1904, Police Parade.



curious prints of rabbits with donkey ears and countless views of goats, burros, snakes, gila monsters, and chuckawallas. With the exception of sections on Chinese, Indians, and Mexicans, minorities are not represented in any systematic manner.

Nonetheless, the majority of Pierce's work is composed of images depicting a wide and important variety of subject matter. Without doubt, the most valuable portion is the section illustrating "the wonderful growth of our cities and towns." Over 1000 rich pictures detail the history of Los Angeles from its days of crude adobes dripping with tar pitch to the beginnings of a modern and congested metropolis. Pierce conveniently arranged the photographs by street (e.g. Spring Street), by subject (e.g., the Plaza), and by event (e.g., the Los Angeles Fiesta). Needless to say, such a decade-by-decade approach is most useful to the urban and architectural historian.

The photographer, as noted elsewhere, took special care to record prominent business blocks, homes, and districts. Pictures of such well-known edifices as the Baker Block, Pico House, Temple Block, and Don Abel Stearns' "El Palacio" adobe abound. Views of the Plaza and Sonora Town permanently preserve the Hispanic character of the pueblo. Photographs of nearby orange groves, railroad depots, and the Wolfskill Tract recorded the impact of real estate booms.

Importantly, Pierce and his associates skillfully photographed the growth of the nearby cities and towns that would eventually form the Los Angeles sprawl. The appeal of health, wealth, and sunshine attracted thousands of easterners, and Pierce supplied views of elegant hotels, citrus groves, and land auctions held in such communities as Montrose and Monrovia. In the collection are found photographs of the San Fernando Valley, Pasadena, Santa Monica, San Pedro, Hollywood, Long Beach, Catalina, Venice and the outlying cities of San Diego, Anaheim, Riverside, San Bernardino, Ventura, and Santa Barbara.

In addition to illustrating the growth of the Southland over half a century, Pierce collected and made photographs of the natural wonders that attracted so many people to the area. Views of the Yosemite Valley, the High Sierra, the Big Trees, and the picturesque Colorado Desert preserve images of the region's beauty spots.

Particularly useful today are photographs of California's important nineteenth-century industries. Pierce provided pictures of the borax industry near Death Valley, mining in the mountains of Southern California and along the Colorado River, oil fields, agriculture, ranching, logging and such lesser-known but unique adventures as the Alligator Farm and Cawston's Ostrich Farm in South Pasadena.

Southern California's fascinating transportation history provided a wealth of subject matter for Pierce's studio, too. Pierce proudly described the collection he had amassed as follows:

[It] takes us from the ox cart to the aeroplane: the covered wagon days; the stage lines with hold-ups and Indians, Everything from Pack Burros and the one-horse chaise to the twenty-mule team outfits, —the first locomotives and the building of the first railways, —the great sailing vessels that came around the Horn, —the first automobiles and those that followed, the bicycles; high ones, the tandems and the safeties. Streetcars: covers the many changes from the one-mule car to the extensive cable-car system, the trolley bus, and on through to modern electric lines, with many portraits of the leading men at the head of these companies.

Pierce also included photos of such remarkable experiments as Professor T. S. C. Lowe's great incline railway near Pasadena, Horace Dobbin's cycle way, and Fawkes' Folly, a monorail system constructed near Burbank in 1910! Pierce concluded the transportation section with photographs of dirigibles, blimps, the Graf Zeppelin, and the first international aviation meet held at Dominguez Field in 1910.

The history of irrigation and water supply has always been a key factor in the story of Southern California,



Cabezón, the powerful chief of the Cahuilla Indians, posed with his silver-tipped cane for this studio portrait. The Title Insurance and Trust Collection contains many superlative views of California and Southwestern Indians.

and Pierce's collection contains photographs of the old Spanish zanjás, windmills, dams, flumes, and the great Owens Valley Aqueduct. As a portent of the future, one of the water-gathering devices Pierce photographed was powered by a solar motor.

Respectful of California's Spanish and Mexican past and its appeal to the tourist, the photographer developed a collection romantically called "Adobe Days." Pierce wrote:

California history began in the carefree days when the people lived a friendly, hospitable life, and their homes were built out of adobe, the soil of their own sun-burned lands. For more than fifty years we have been adding to our collection many pictures of these adobe homes, both small and great, from San Diego to San Francisco Bay. Many of these homes have long ago passed into oblivion and others are fast melting away; but they all, even in ruins, form a pleasant link in the first beginnings of California.

Following much the same theme, Pierce accumulated a large group of mission photographs to demonstrate their architectural beauty as well as the activities of the Franciscans. Containing over 1200 images, the collection was described by Pierce as "a very extensive and superior collection of this subject, covering a period of over sixty years."

The entire pictorial archive is supplemented by an extensive portrait collection. Composed of photographs made from engravings, woodcuts, and other sources, Pierce included well over 1000 portraits of "well-known men and women of California from the days of the dons to the present." Over the years the Pierce portrait collection has proven to be of great value to historians.

A prize acquisition for C. C. Pierce & Co. was the purchase of 2000 glass-plate negatives made by the prolific southwestern writer, George Wharton James. Known as an eccentric but eloquent booster of California and the Southwest, James spent decades writing and lecturing about the region's natural wonders, Indian tribes, pioneers, missions, and residential promise.

Southwestern writer, traveler, and photographer George Wharton James stopped for rest and repair on the floor of the Grand Canyon. Pierce purchased from James many of his negatives of the Grand Canyon, Colorado Desert, and the Southwest.

On his frequent peregrinations through the mountains and deserts of the Southwest, James obtained numerous photographs to illustrate his books, articles, and lectures. A careful and sympathetic observer of the Indian, James created a remarkable ethnographic record with his dry-plate camera. Pierce enthusiastically characterized the collection in his brochure:

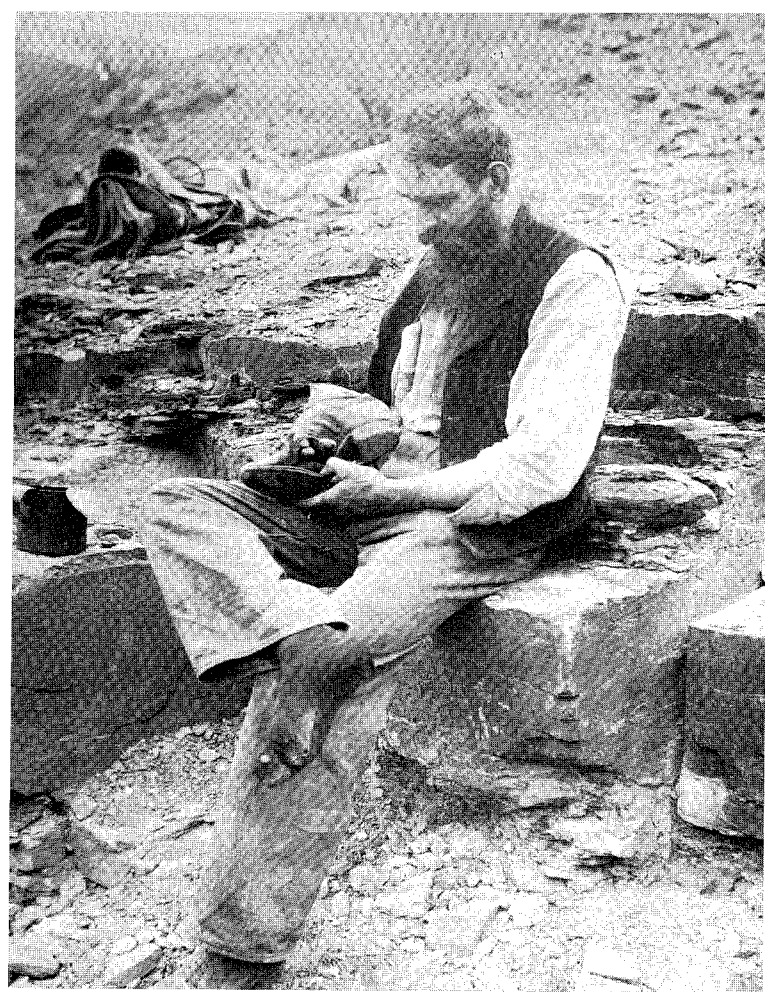
This collection of photographs of the aborigines of the Southwest, who are rapidly passing away, is very extensive, and is of unique scientific interest, being photographed from 1890 to 1905, before the commercializing of the ceremonies.

With his camera James recorded the customs, manner of life, ceremonies, arts, occupations, and games of the Hopi, Wallapi, Yaqui, Navajo, Mojave, Yuma, Apache, Chemeheuvi, Havasupai, Pima, Zuñi, Pueblo, and Paiute tribes. The former preacher also made a fine photographic study of the mission Indians living at Temecula, Pala, and the Cahuilla rancherías near Palm Springs.

Many of James' photographs appeared in his popular books such as *Through Ramona's Country* (1908), *In and Around the Grand Canyon* (1900), *The Indians of the Painted Desert Region* (1903), and the classic, two-volume *The Wonders of the Colorado Desert* (1906). The amateur ethnologist also contributed substantially to the study of Indian baskets and blankets, and his photographs highlighted the still useful *Indian Basketry* (1901) and *Indian Blankets and Their Makers* (1914).

Certainly, the James photographs of California and Southwestern Indians represent the first ethnographic collection of any value acquired by the California Historical Society. While James' photographs are not of the artistic quality of those taken by Edward S. Curtis or A. C. Vroman, they remain an impressive body of ethnographic data.

In addition to the Pierce and James photographs, the Society's Southern California Historical Collection contains a number of photograph albums, miscellaneous prints, and panoramic views. The most important album



is a striking series of over 200 photographs documenting the bombing of the Los Angeles Times Building in 1910, an event which literally rocked the history of labor in Los Angeles and around the country. Filled with views of gnarled and twisted steel, dead bodies, and wreckage, the album may have been used as evidence in the famous McNamara Brothers trial. The album also contains photographs of defense attorney Clarence Darrow, unexploded bombs, and the home of *Times* publisher, General Harrison Gray Otis.

Other albums donated by Title Insurance and Trust Company depict Los Angeles and Southern California in the 1890's, the beautiful Dos Pueblos Rancho near Santa Barbara, and the construction of the coast highway in the Oxnard region of Ventura County.

An additional collection of over 600 photographs illustrates the activities of the Los Angeles City Department of Public Works during the 1930's. Responsible for changing much of the landscape of the Los Angeles Basin, that department constructed roads, storm drains, sewage disposal plants, bridges, and the famous Figueroa Street tunnel. In a unique bit of social history, this

collection contains photographs of sanitation workers picking up the city's refuse and the activities of the city dump.

The photographic collection at the new History Center will be augmented by a small reference collection. This will consist of bibliographies, indices, journals, and books about the history of Los Angeles.

Access to the pictorial collections will be gained through the assistance of a librarian working with a detailed card index and special subject listings. In the near future, the Society will also introduce a microfilm re-

trieval system. This will greatly reduce research time and at the same time protect the original photographs from unnecessary handling. Photographic reproductions of the materials in the collection will be available for modest fees. The collection will be open to the public Monday through Friday from 1 to 4 P.M.

Fortunately, the Title Insurance and Trust Company donation included a nearly complete set of duplicate prints. This duplicate set has been transferred to the Society's library in San Francisco and will enable the Society to provide statewide pictorial coverage.

Douglas Fairbanks happily shouted to the crowd, "We have gathered here to welcome Will Rogers back." The enthusiastic citizens of Beverly Hills elected the famed humorist as their mayor in 1926.



Book Reviews

The Mexican War in Baja California: The Memorandum of Captain Henry W. Halleck Concerning His Expeditions in Lower California, 1846-1848.

Edited and introduced by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1977. Baja California Travels Series, 39. 208 pp. Folding map. \$24.00.)

Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes, Professor of History at the University of San Francisco, Technical Director of the Historical Archive of Baja California Sur, and author of books and articles on the early history of the Californias.

A great deal of research and writing on the war between the United States and Mexico has resulted in excellent studies and documentary works. Most of these, however, have treated the campaigns of Taylor and Scott in central Mexico and those of Kearny, Stockton, and others in New Mexico and Alta California—those areas where the United States achieved unquestionable victories. Very little attention has been given by U.S. historians to Baja California during the war, probably because, in the main, the U.S. was not particularly successful there; and most Mexican historians have ignored this aspect of national history with the exception of the heroic battles of Mulegé and San José del Cabo. Thus, this latest volume in the Baja California Travels Series fills a decided void in the history of the Californias between 1846 and 1848 by providing both a succinct account of military actions in Baja California, as well as an overview linking those aspects of the war with activities in Alta California, Mexico City, and Washington.

In his lengthy, well-documented introduction, Professor Nunis, in essence, supplies a concise history of the war in the Californias from political, military, and diplomatic viewpoints. This introduction, in itself, is an important contribution, but the inclusion of the Halleck Memorandum and an appendix of documentary accounts of the war adds detail to an understanding of U.S. strategy during the war and its aftermath. A prologue and an epilogue provide biographical data on Halleck, who, as did many U.S. military men of the period, became a man of means in San Francisco and a Civil War hero.

As important as the Halleck document are those included in the appendices. Reports on the battles of Mulegé, La Paz,

San José del Cabo, San Vicente, and Todos Santos, as well as the rescue of U.S. prisoners and the pursuit of Mexican troops, all by eyewitnesses, are well annotated, as is the Memorandum. Contemporary drawings by William H. Meyers of naval action, glossaries, a folding map of the area under study, and a bibliographic essay further enhance this volume.

While excellent overall, there is an inconsistency in the accenting and spelling of Spanish names and a few major errors are evident ("La Muella" for La Muela; "Valera" for Roque Varela; "Villiano" for Villarino; "Los Choros" for Los Chorros; "Balo" for Belloc; the founding of Todos Santos in 1734 for 1733 and Santiago in 1724 for 1721; and the mislocation of La Laguna on the map). Further, many Baja Californians such as Pablo de la Toba, Antonio Ruffo, Antonio Belloc, Domingo Burgoin, and Loreto Talamantes, listed as refugees to Alta California as collaborators, did not leave, but rather remained as influential citizens in Baja California Sur. Finally, to this reviewer there is no question of a Mexican victory at Mulegé in October, 1847; the U.S. wanted to capture the town and was simply prevented from doing so by Pineda and his men!

As always with the Baja California Travels Series, this book is beautifully printed by Grant Dahlstrom and bound by Bela Blau. As a history of the war from the U.S. viewpoint, this is a very valuable contribution and should be in every Californiana library.

A British Ranchero in Old California: The Life and Times of Henry Dalton and the Rancho Azusa.

By Sheldon G. Jackson. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company and Azusa Pacific College, 1977. 265 pp. \$15.50.)

Reviewed by John Caughey, Professor of History Emeritus at University of California, Los Angeles. His most recent book, in collaboration with LaRee Caughey, is Los Angeles, Biography of a City.

Historian Robert G. Cleland firmly established that it was the ranchero or trader-ranchero who dominated the Southern California scene through the middle decades of the nineteenth century. To date biographies of the area's notables

are less adequate than for the northern half of the province, represented in books on Sutter, Larkin, Marsh, Vallejo, Bidwell, and others. Susanna Dakin did justice to Hugo Reid, Iris Wilson to William Wolfskill, Doris Wright to Abel Stearns through the Mexican period, and scattered essays tell about B. D. Wilson. A gap on the shelf has been reserved for Henry Dalton.

Using the Dalton Papers, the records of Rancho Azusa, and cross-references to other such papers at the Huntington Library, Sheldon G. Jackson now gives us a most illuminating study of trader-ranchero Dalton.

Like most of the above-named, Dalton came to California after a long stopover in an older part of Spanish America. In 1821 at age eighteen he left London for Callao, arriving just as the Spanish restrictive system was crumbling. He became a protégé of "Mr. Crawley" of Gibbs, Crawley and Co. but soon launched into business on his own with a store and warehouse at Callao and ships plying to points north and south and occasionally to London. In the winter of 1841-42 he went as supercargo on one of his ships to Mexico and then similarly to California.

Coming as a trader, Dalton opened a store and made Los Angeles the base for traffic up and down the coast and to Mexico and Hawaii. He purchased and chartered ships for the purpose and accepted hides and furs or bill of exchange. Late in 1844, with a down-payment of \$1,000, he bought Rancho Azusa on the San Gabriel, some 4½ leagues of land. In goods and produce he was to pay another \$6,000, which he estimated as the value of buildings, dam and irrigation ditch, stock, and vineyard of 7,000 vines. He soon added plantings of tobacco, cotton, alfalfa, and grain, doubled the vineyard, and operated a winery, tannery, and sawmill. From the ayuntamiento he asked for a grant of canyon land and from Governor Pico two leagues of land once used by Mission San Gabriel. Later he bought Rancho Santa Anita, rounding out his holdings to 45,000 acres. On July 3, 1847, he was baptized and on the 14th he married María Guadalupe Zamorano.

Multiple venturing characterized the times, as shows in the careers of Sutter, Larkin, Stearns, and Wilson. Dalton's came to include an unsuccessful attempt to subdivide and sell part of his lands. He also pursued the will-of-the-wisp of collecting from the Mexican government for certain losses incurred incident to the transfer of sovereignty. His worst setback came from American squatters who took over some of his best land. And for him the crowning disaster was that

after his claim was approved, surveyor Henry Hancock, seemingly maliciously, drew the lines to exclude most of the rancho buildings and irrigated fields. Twenty-nine years of litigation failed to bring a reversal.

Jackson's study is a substantial contribution on the man and the period.

The Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, the Evolution and Implementation of Water Policy: An Historical Perspective.

By W. Turrentine Jackson and Alan M. Paterson. (Davis: California Water Resources Center, University of California, Davis, 1977. v, 192 pp. \$5.00.)

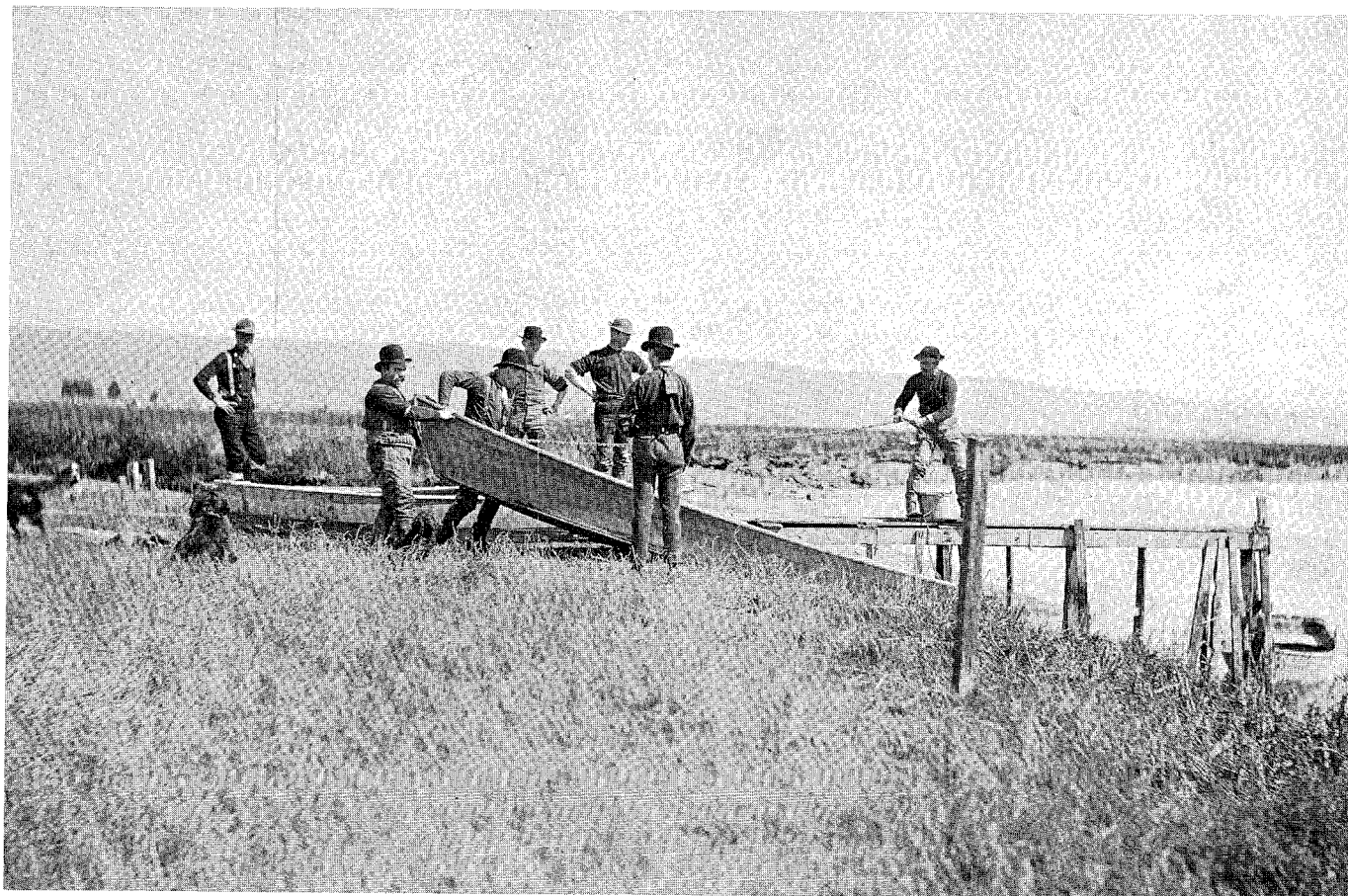
Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, Reviews Editor of California History.

During the past academic quarter, the History Department at U.C. Berkeley has sponsored a series of talks on "Jobs for Historians." Notably absent from the discussions has been that most traditional of history vocations, teaching, for the current supply of history teachers at all educational levels overwhelms the demand. Instead, the meetings have dealt with "alternative" careers, including that of "public historian," people who do historical research for public agencies and put contemporary public policy decisions into historical perspective. U.C. Santa Barbara even has begun a graduate program to train such public historians.

The Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, the Evolution and Implementation of Water Policy serves as a model for the kind of work public historians should be producing. Turrentine Jackson and Alan Paterson have written a history of the attempts to prevent the incursion of salt water into the delta of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers since 1920. Their work provides crucial background material for understanding current debates about the future of delta agriculture, the expansion of federal and state water projects in the Central Valley and, in particular, the desirability of the proposed Peripheral Canal.

The report discusses the origins and impact of both the federal Central Valley Project and the State Water Plan. It

Hunters with their dogs launched a small boat in the Sacramento River Delta c.1890. The delta is a major wildlife refuge.



also covers past battles over the Reber Plan and other schemes to place physical barriers on portions of San Francisco Bay. Among the authors' findings are the fact that the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation has no legal obligation to control delta salinity in the operation of its projects and that the self-appointed spokesmen for the delta usually have not been the farmers who have most to lose, but industrialists and real estate interests concerned about future development in Contra Costa County. The report takes no stand on the Peripheral Canal itself, but the authors do include valuable material on the origin of the canal proposal in the sixties and its reincarnation in the middle seventies.

Jackson and Paterson cover many technical matters in some detail, but the authors struggle admirably to keep their prose

free of jargon and their material comprehensible to the layman. They even inject some humor into the text: Chapter XII is entitled "The Great San Joaquin Drainage Problem or 'What's Bad Water Like You Doing in a Nice Valley Like This?'" Such writing may shock bureaucrats and perplex scientific experts, but it helps attract and sustain general readers. Surely democracy is strengthened if more people come to realize that present economic and social conditions are usually the result of easily-understood past human actions and that it is possible for citizens to become well-informed about even so complicated an issue as the Peripheral Canal. Perhaps the greatest service "public historians" can perform is to de-mystify issues and encourage popular participation in public policy decisions.

Camp and Community: Manzanar and the Owens Valley.

Edited by Jessie A. Garrett and Ronald C. Larson. (Fullerton: California State University, 1977. 233 pp. Paper \$7.95.)

Reviewed by Donald Teruo Hata, Jr., Professor of History at California State University, Dominguez Hills.

This compilation of twenty transcripts of oral history interviews by student and faculty members of the Japanese American Oral History Project at California State University, Fullerton, was originally intended to be a survey of attitudes among non-Japanese residents of the Owens Valley toward the sudden arrival of over 10,000 persons of Japanese ancestry at a hastily constructed federal confinement site at Manzanar, California, during the chaotic year after the declaration of war against Imperial Japan. From the time that the final manuscript had been compiled and a title selected, the book became a cause célèbre among certain Japanese Americans because of its original title, *Jap Camp*. The fact that it caused so much public brouhaha during the year preceding its publication under the revised title, *Camp and Community: Manzanar and the Owens Valley*, would probably go unnoticed by scholars and the general public were it not for a cryptic, unsigned four-page "Publisher's Note" which precedes the title page. Had it not been for the conspicuously unconventional inclusion of this statement between the cover and title page, *Camp and Community* would be deserving of a generally positive review for its exploration of a hitherto unexamined dimension of the Japanese American evacuation and incarceration. But the "Publisher's Note" raises questions and allegations relating to academic freedom which require a discussion of the title controversy.

There is little doubt that the work provides useful information for a fuller understanding of the subject and serves as an example of a much-needed movement from well-worn general statements to systematic research and documentation of specific subtopics. During the past decade, for example, numerous scholarly and popular articles and books have created a widespread awareness of the evacuation and incarceration. However, an historiographical review of these publications reveals that most authors have repeated themes such as "official villains" (e.g., Franklin D. Roosevelt who issued Executive Order 9066 and General John L. DeWitt who influenced and implemented the evacuation policy)

and basic constitutional questions such as the denial of due process. The importance of these introductory surveys notwithstanding, the same general issues have been repeated to the extent that knowledgeable readers find so-called "new" works predictable and mundane.

Two recent efforts have reflected growing sophistication and imagination. Michi Nishiura Weglyn's *Years of Infamy* (William Morrow and Company, 1976) revealed an ominous Western Hemisphere-wide dimension of the U.S. government's attempts to extend its evacuation and incarceration policy to include persons of Japanese ancestry throughout the nations of Central and South America. John Modell's *The Kikuchi Diary: Chronicles from An American Concentration Camp* (University of Illinois Press, 1973) added the candid perceptions of an "insiders account" of daily life behind barbed wire. Aside from these notable exceptions, however, most of the existing literature on the subject is characterized by a certain stagnancy of perspective, albeit overwhelmingly sympathetic to the evacuee/incarcerates, and a paucity of imaginative research.

It was therefore with great interest that the most recent publication by the Japanese American Oral History Project at California State University, Fullerton, was awaited. Its *Voices Long Silent: An Oral Inquiry Into the Japanese American Evacuation* (1974) has provided scholars and students with a rich reservoir of oral interviews among former evacuee/incarcerates in a format convenient for reference by writers as well as instructors. The project's use of students of both non-Japanese and Japanese ancestry served to illustrate the relevance of the Japanese American experience to all Americans. The oral history interviews proved to be substantive and innovative teaching alternatives to the more conventional written assignments in the classroom.

The oral interviews in *Camp and Community* reflect a wide range of occupational, social, and educational backgrounds and ages among those who resided outside the barbed-wire and watchtower perimeters of the Manzanar site. They include former camp administrators and construction workers, men and women proprietors of local businesses, veterans, politicians, and a Chinese American woman and her Hawaiian-born mother who were the only Asian residents of the region at the time of the Japanese arrival in 1942. Following an initial fear of the evacuees, which in large measure was the result of hysterical newspaper headlines and radio reports following the Pearl Harbor attack, the Owens Valley residents interviewed eventually became indifferent and

sometimes even sympathetic to their 10,000 incarcerated neighbors at Manzanar.

A controversy about the original title of the albeit important investigation began shortly after the approaching publication of *Jap Camp* was announced in the Fall 1976 Oral History Association *Newsletter*. According to the "Publisher's Note" published in the volume, at that time "the CSUF Department of History received a telephone call from the chairman of an ethnic concerns committee for a regional division of a national Japanese American association, expressing his committee's concern over the title of the forthcoming publication." The use of lower case letters struck this reviewer immediately as a transparent attempt to avoid identifying a committee of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL). The reasons for the superficial subterfuge were unclear, however, and inquiries were made directly to the Oral History Project at Fullerton. A telephone conversation with Professor Arthur A. Hansen, director of the program, confirmed the identity of the Japanese American group as the Ethnic Concerns Committee of the Pacific Southwest District of the Japanese American Citizens League. Hansen took responsibility for the unsigned "Publisher's Note" in which appears the following description of the gathering in Los Angeles' "Little Tokyo" where Hansen and other members of the Fullerton project met with the JACL Ethnic Concerns Committee:

They were confronted by a group who, in arrogating the role of cultural commissars for the Japanese American community, treated them as though they were "deviationists" from or "enemies" of the "official" ethnic orthodoxy. Although at the outset of the meeting the committee chairman allowed the visitors to "justify" the offending title for their publication, it soon became apparent to them that the committee was less interested in listening to explanatory discourse than in meting out censure for "heretical" behavior and for coercing a change in titles.

When asked about his lack of specificity in describing the JACL Ethnic Concerns Committee, Dr. Hansen explained that in order for the book to be published with the imprimatur of California State University, Fullerton, the campus legal officer, Gordon Bakken, required the deletion of names of specific individuals and organizations in the original draft of the unsigned "Publisher's Note" to avoid lawsuits by Japanese Americans.

If the actions and statements by the JACL Ethnic Concerns Committee members were indeed as abusive and irrational as described in the "Publisher's Note," one wonders to what

extent the principle of academic freedom and the judgment of university researchers has been eroded by the policy attributed to the CSUF legal office? The denial of the right to confront one's accusers was, after all, one of the basic civil rights withheld from Japanese Americans during the evacuation and incarceration episode. And is the principle of "scholarly integrity" truly achieved by changing the title to spare a young woman from seeing a term repugnant to her father and over 112,000 of his fellow Japanese Americans, as claimed by the publisher, a term which is unfortunately still in use today?

The answer lies in the last line of the original "Introduction" to this volume: "The cancer of prejudice will never be eradicated by name calling, selective indignation or mere exhortation." Had the persons responsible for the book merely practiced what they preached, differences of opinion over the title might persist, but the principle of academic freedom would be invoked for a clearer and better cause.

Gold Rush Steamers of the Pacific.

By Ernest A. Wiltsee. (Lawrence, Mass.: Quarterman Publications, 1976. x, 421 pp. \$35.00.)

Reviewed by John Kortum, a student, traveler, and sailor, who recently sailed in a yacht along the routes used by the gold rush steamers of the Pacific.

Steamship arrivals in the early 1850's at San Francisco were momentous events. These Gold Rush steamers, the conveyors of news, mail, and passengers, brought contact from the outside world and took away gold "treasure." They affected nearly every transported Yankee's life—in particular—through the decade following 1849. Their importance cannot be slighted. Ernest A. Wiltsee in *Gold Rush Steamers of the Pacific* pays tribute to their significance and celebrates their perilous careers.

Published originally in 1938 by the Grabhorn Press, this book is a reprint. Its second coming has good reason; it is a classic of first-hand research into a subject thick with drama. Never wandering far off course, Wiltsee charts the histories of the early Pacific Coast steamship lines and details at length their vicious competition. The text is sprinkled with the stories of twenty-one separate steamship disasters, tropical

fevers, riots in Panama, wars of filibustering, Latin politicking, bribery, price wars, and other sly financial manipulations. The book catches the flavor of those boisterous pioneer times. It makes fascinating reading, but by no means can it be deigned "popular history." It is a historian's history book.

Two major steamer routes led to Gold Rush California from the East Coast, one via the Isthmus of Panama, the other via the Isthmus of Nicaragua. Both were hazardous at their inception; in the early days steamships simply deposited passengers on one side, leaving them to their own means to find their way across. During these isthmian crossings, passengers—now adventurers in the jungle—risked all manner of tropical fevers, politely termed "isthmus fever" or "Panama fever." The high rate of fever mortality in Panama was parlayed into propaganda favoring the Nicaraguan route. But death came another way to the Nicaraguan wayfarers; in little over a year (1852-53), the Vanderbilt Line servicing Nicaragua wrecked four of its six Pacific Coast steamers. Such were the vagaries of isthmian travel.

Wiltsee's interest in these steamship routes—the Pacific Mail Steamship Co., Empire City Line, Law's Line, the first Vanderbilt line, the Nicaragua Steamship Co., the New York and San Francisco Steamship Co., Vanderbilt's Independent Opposition Line—evolved through his fascination with propaganda handstamps. In attempts to usurp from the P.M.S.S. Co. the government mail contract, opposition lines rubber-stamped the unofficial mail they carried with such propaganda as "Via Nicaragua—Ahead of the Mails." Letter-writers, depending where their sympathies lay, stipulated by which route they wished their letters to travel and, further, by which particular steamship they held favorite. Such were the mails in more exciting times.

This reprint is timely. As present debate flares over the Panama Canal and hints come forth about a new trans-Nicaraguan canal, this book makes proper reading for historians keeping up with current events. We find again history repeats itself: in 1850 Cornelius Vanderbilt and others signed with the Nicaraguan government an eighty-five-year contract for construction and control of a trans-isthmian canal.

I initially read this book during a southbound yachting voyage along the Pacific Coast of Central America. As a description of early U.S.-Central American relations, I found this work particularly useful in assessing my perceptions of the Latin people's attitude toward U.S. citizens. Their attitude, which I found to be a cautious envy of Yankee industriousness, is highly understandable considering that during the 1850's a megalomaniac North American, the filibusterer

William Walker, invaded Nicaragua and ascended to its presidency, using his powers to the benefit of an American steamship company. Walker's defeat came only under the combined forces of other Central American republics, forces aided by British warships and partly financed by Commodore Vanderbilt, who was jealous of his competitor's profits.

As a clear narration of important events in American history, this book is pleasantly free of lucubrating interpretation. Filled with primary sources, it was the first to coalesce the diverse elements of a virgin subject. Though succeeded by later books such as John Kemble's *The Panama Route* (which was written concurrently with and unbeknownst to Wiltsee), *Gold Rush Steamers of the Pacific* has already and always will stand the test of time as a solid history.

Bernard Maybeck: Artisan, Architect, Artist.

By Kenneth H. Cardwell. (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1977, 255 pp. \$24.95.)

Reviewed by Elinor Richey, author of books, articles, and encyclopedia essays on architecture and biography.

Among California architecture devotees probably no book has been so awaited as this first biography of Berkeley's colorful, innovative architect. This group of readers will find Kenneth Cardwell's work, twenty years in preparation, well worth the waiting. They will delight in the rare personal photos and in the views of structures long demolished, as well as photographs of Bernard Maybeck's existing work. They will welcome, too, the painstakingly detailed chronicle of Maybeck's life (1862-1957) and his long career. There was his happy childhood in New York, son of a German-born woodcarver. After quitting a furniture-making apprenticeship, Maybeck studied architecture in Paris at the École des Beaux-Arts. Rather unsuccessful practice in New York and Kansas City preceded his trek West.

Of course Maybeck found his bearings in Berkeley, where he fell in love with the color and workability of California redwood and with the hillsides and casual life style. These inspired him to invent a new kind of architecture that uniquely blended elements of Swiss, Japanese, and Beaux-Arts classicism—simple shingled houses with gable roofs, deep eaves, open planning, and raftered ceilings. His work and that of followers has been called the Bay Area Shingle Style.

Ever restless, Maybeck also experimented with other forms and materials and with fire-proofing; he even concocted a siding of burlap sacks dipped in concrete. He not only designed residences (about 150 of them) but such notable public structures as the First Christian Science Church in Berkeley, the Palace of Fine Arts in San Francisco, and (with Julia Morgan) the Hearst Memorial Gymnasium at the University of California, Berkeley.

While the Maybeck aficionado can count his blessings, the general reader may feel less gratified. The uninitiated would have profited from an introductory chapter delineating Maybeck's stature and contribution before being told, in strict chronology, the ancestry, background, and childhood of a person of but scant acquaintance. Maybeck, for all his local fame, is largely unknown, having done the bulk of his work in Berkeley in relative obscurity.

The general reader will also miss (as did this writer who formerly lived in a neighborhood abounding with Frank Lloyd Wright and Louis Sullivan designs) an assessment of Maybeck's work in the context of that of his distinguished contemporaries. Astonishingly, Wright's name does not appear in the index. A comparison to Wright would have enhanced the story of Maybeck who, unlike Wright, considered the small house and humble client well worth attention and who was ever seeking more economic ways to build. Wright catered to the rich and utilized the most expensive materials. Yet Maybeck, the democratic son of an artisan, loved and courted beauty no less ardently than did his imperious colleague.

Chinatown's Angry Angel: The Story of Donaldina Cameron.

By Mildred Crowl Martin. (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1977. 308 pp. \$12.50.)

Reviewed by Philip P. Choy, architect and frequent reviewer for California History.

At the time when the Chinese first arrived in California during the gold rush, China was a semi-feudal society dominated by the Confucian social order of master and slaves. At the bottom of this social order were the underprivileged who under duress were forced to sell their young daughters at a

very early age into human bondage to serve the privileged class as maid servants, concubines, and prostitutes.

In early California the practice of buying and selling young Chinese girls fell into the control of anti-social organizations known as "Tongs." In the predominantly male population, females were sought-after as wives and concubines. More often they were used and abused as prostitutes patronized both by Chinese and white males alike.

Somehow, when we speak of Chinese prostitution, it evokes images more notorious and immoral than Curt Gentry's "Madams of San Francisco" and more sinful and sinister than the "Barbary Coast" of Herbert Asbury. Yet these equally infamous activities existed side by side in rough-and-tumble San Francisco.

Chinatown's Angry Angel is a story of a young woman named Donaldina Cameron who at the turn of this century dedicated her entire life to the rescuing of Chinese slave girls from the clutches of the Tongs. The missionary home at 920 Sacramento Street in San Francisco, where she harbored the unfortunates, stands in her honor as Cameron House. By her "adopted daughters" she was affectionately called "Lo Mo" (mother); by her enemies she was cursed as "Fahn Quai" (the barbarian devil). The story of her selfless sacrifices is by no means new. An account of her exploits was written in 1931 by author Carol Green Wilson in *Chinatown Quest* and reprinted in 1974.

In the re-telling of the story of Donaldina Cameron, the author Mildred Martin recognized the changing of times by prefacing her account: "In a time of turmoil when people search for identity, freedom and social reforms, it seems appropriate to tell the story of a woman who lived through another tumultuous period." Yet, on the whole, Martin merely regurgitates that naive theme as written by Wilson forty-six years ago.

Almost single handedly with the help of Sgt. Manion, a San Francisco policeman, Cameron supposedly wiped out prostitution in the Chinese community. The mere mentioning of her name "Fahn Quai" drove fear into the hearts of the Tongs. Likewise, one warning from the newly-arrived Sgt. Manion caused "strong men of the Tongs obediently" to "stash away their hatchets. . . ." As in a western horse opera, the heroine in white charged into the den of iniquity to rescue the "children of darkness." Identified before the rescue as "forlorn painted creatures" of sin, after their rescue they transcend into bright-eyed, intelligent, lovely little creatures capable of "reciting the scripture and singing like little birds"—ad nauseum. Evidently not every slave girl

wanted to be rescued, however, as some had to be "picked up bodily and carried." Nor did every rescued girl submit readily to the blessings of God. But it was the hope and aspiration of Donaldina Cameron that her family of converts would return to China to spread the gospel. With optimism she declared, "I will sow them among the heathen, and they shall remember me in far countries."

Viewed in the broader context of social history, the Donaldina Cameron story is a reflection of that era known as "Gunboat Diplomacy" when American capitalists anticipated the domination of the potential wealth of China and American missionaries envisioned doing God's work among the 400 million heathens. Marching shoulder to shoulder with American sailors and marines, they advanced upon the soil of China. With this prospect before her, Donaldina Cameron marvelled, "If China could be saved!"

If Cameron and her contemporaries could see the China of today—developing without the Confucian social order, without prostitutes, and all without the help of God—I wonder if they would still marvel.

The Painter Lady: Grace Carpenter Hudson.

By Searles R. Boynton. (Eureka: Interface Corporation, 1978. 186 pp. \$28.50.)

Reviewed by Marjorie Dakin Arkelian, Art Department Historian, The Oakland Museum, Oakland, California.

Coinciding with evaluations in recent years concerning contributions to American art made by painters in the Far West in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, here is a personalized and detailed in-depth biography, and an illustrated catalog raisonné, of an artist, Grace Carpenter Hudson (1865-1937).

The artist, who was born in Potter Valley near Ukiah, California, was known to the area's Pomo Indians as the "Painter Lady." Portraits of the Pomo Indians—men, women and children who were in a sense the artist's neighbors and friends from her earliest childhood—comprise the main part of her entire works in oils and watercolors.

The author of this book, Dr. Searles R. Boynton, a dentist residing in Ukiah, became interested in Grace Hudson when he happened to see one of her paintings at Maxwell Galleries, San Francisco, seven years ago. Wisely, Dr. Boynton has not interpreted Grace Hudson's art for art's sake; instead, he

has spent years of research locating and documenting approximately 250 of her more than 600 known paintings of Pomo Indian subjects. Because of the extensive reproductions in the book, which include forty color plates and several hundred black and white illustrations, the reader becomes in a sense a "gallery viewer" of a retrospective collection and is given the opportunity to form an independent perspective of Grace Hudson's art.

The necessary biographical information is all there, researched from original sources including the artist's mother's diary, the artist's documentation of her works—which are signed and numbered but not dated—and family letters and documents. The Prologue provides family background and the account of the journey of the Aurelius O. Carpenter family from the Territory of Kansas across the plains and their arrival in California in 1857, eight years before the artist's birth.

Dr. Boynton's biography of Grace Hudson is a labor of love, which gives a full account of her life, her family and friends, and her training. At the California School of Design in San Francisco, she studied landscape painting under Raymond Dabb Yelland, an internationally educated painter and teacher, and portrait painting under Domenico Tojetti, whose long professional career began in Rome in the Vatican Court. Dr. Boynton also describes the artist's two marriages—the second, to John W. N. Hudson, a medical doctor by profession who later became a distinguished American ethnologist, had particular significance on her career. Grace Hudson's ultimate success as an internationally-known woman artist, whose Pomo Indian painting *House Care* won a cash prize at the Paris Exposition in 1900, is also thoroughly documented.

In addition, Dr. Boynton has written into the text a wealth of factual information—also derived from original sources—concerning the Pomo Indians as a people and a vanishing race. In many cases the author has included personalized descriptions of individuals portrayed.

This book has been published at a time when the gift baskets of the Pomo Indians of California—especially those created during the early days of the "Painter Lady's" career—and the portraits of those Indians by that artist are equally prized and rare. The portraits, usually classic and sensitive portrayals of individuals, are sometimes depicted in landscape settings. Frequently, however, and without particular regard to composition, still-life objects of interest to historians, relating to the legends and traditions of the Pomo tribe, are included.



Basque shepherds tended sheep throughout the rugged terrain of the West.

A Shepherd Watches, A Shepherd Sings: Growing Up A Basque Shepherd in California's San Joaquin Valley.

By Louis Irigaray and Theodore Taylor. (New York: Doubleday, 1977. 310 pp. Illustrations. \$8.95.)

Reviewed by Ronald B. Taylor, reporter for the Fresno Bee and author of books on the history of agriculture in the Central Valley.

Louis Irigaray, the folk singer, and Theodore Taylor, the writer (no relation to the reviewer), have teamed up to weave a series of anecdotes and events into an interesting, if romantic history of a Basque family. Essentially this is an oral autobiography recorded and set down by Taylor, but in the process Irigaray's unabashed love for all things "Basco" lifts the book and provides some colorful insights.

The Irigaray family is right out of Basque tradition: one son to the church, one son to the village artisanship, and one adventuresome son to America to earn money as a shepherd, one day to return to the Pyrenees Mountains and there become a Paysan, a farmer. Irigaray's father was the adventuresome immigrant from Esterenzuby who came to California to herd sheep, and save his money.

But while the love of the Pyrenees and tradition was strong, the senior Irigaray stayed, bought a band of sheep, and married. By the time son "Lew-wee" was six years old, he was riding on the back of a pack animal, following the family bands of sheep up from the San Joaquin Valley into the high ranges of the Sierra Nevada. Louis Irigaray, who styles himself as a folk singer in the tradition of Burl Ives, is at heart an "artzainak," a shepherd, an entrepreneur who owns bands of sheep and hires sheep herders to work them.

Irigaray knows the sheep and the work, and he tells interesting anecdotes about life on the "sheepwalk" trails, of rescuing a fierce badger that had fallen into an abandoned well, of entering a "band" of sheep in a Hanford Chamber of Commerce parade through the middle of that city. His profile of the Basque herder Baptista, who after twenty-five years finally does return to his village in those mountains that form the border between Spain and France, is touching.

Although in Irigaray's romantic telling of the shepherd's work there is no direct comment on the subject of labor exploitation, there is a sense of this as he describes the incredible hardships and severe working conditions under which the herders—and "Lew-wee" himself—worked. The difference of course was that he was the son of the owner and the others worked for low pay, considering the hours, working conditions and the tremendous responsibilities.

Irigaray reveals his own sense of the Basque pride and independent nature when he writes, "Gora Euzkadi Askatuta, Long Live the free Basque Country!" He further adds, "As a matter of other record, we Eskualdunak, we Basques, have often leaned toward defiance and independence. . . . Both the *Santa Maria* and the *Nina* were largely manned by unruly Basques, and they threatened to throw Christopher Columbus overboard when he was slow in finding land."

The reader of this interesting book will get a sense of the culture within a culture, of the Basque sheep men and their herders living and working in a rural, farming environment peopled by the Portuguese, English, Mexican, Yugoslavs, and others. Yet the Basques remain "Bascos." Irigaray takes the reader to the Basque hotels in Fresno and Bakersfield and gives some sense of the Basque network that extends throughout the western United States, wherever sheep are grazing.

California Check List

By Joan Alpert,
Library Administrative Assistant

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1977-78) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

- American Society of Civil Engineers, San Francisco Section, The History and Heritage Committee. *Historic Civil Engineering Landmarks*. Edited by William A. Myers. San Francisco: Pacific Gas and Electric Co., 1977. 51 pp. Maps. Publisher, Department of Civil Engineering.
- Archuleta, Kay. *The Brannan Saga*. Calistoga: by the author, 1977. \$6.95 paper, \$14.95 cloth, plus tax. Author, 1320 Cedar St., Calistoga 94515.
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- Nunis, Doyce B. *The Mexican War in Baja California: The Memorandum of Captain Henry W. Halleck Concerning His Expeditions in Lower California, 1846-1848.* Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1977. 208 pp. \$24.00. Publisher, 535 N. Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles 90004.
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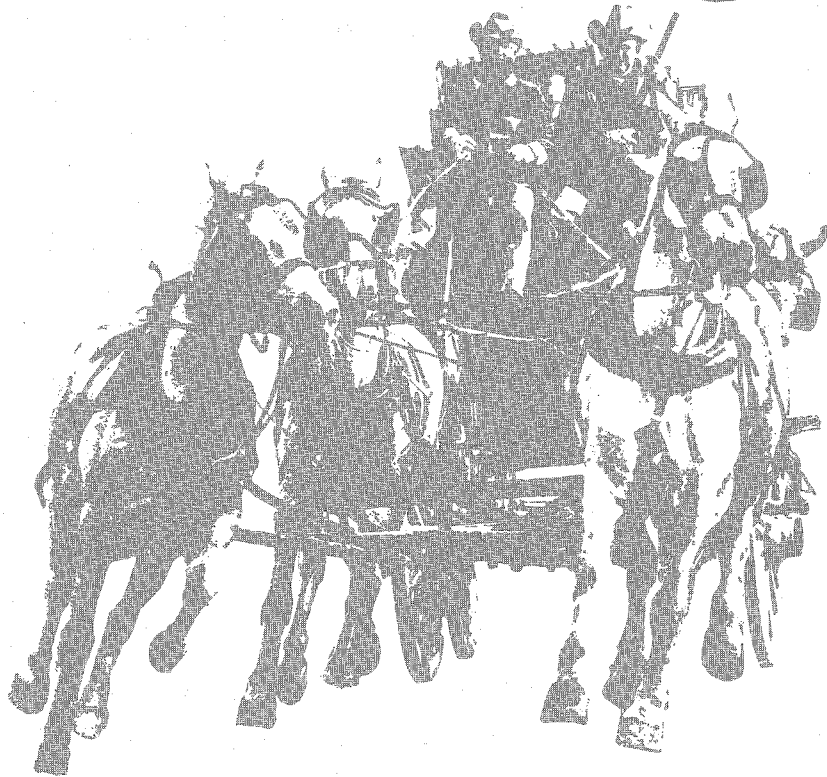


I am DON JOAQUIN IBARRA

Little did I dream as a lad, in the small Spanish village of Saragossa, that I should one day sit upon the right hand of the Immortals! Now let me tell you how it befell. A century before my birth, 1725, Miguel de Cervantes wrote his incomparable *Don Quixote*. Not one Spanish author but sought to equal or surpass this book. Not one but failed. As apprentice to a printer in Madrid, I dreamed of one day printing an edition befitting this masterpiece, a setting worthy of the jewel it contained. And just before my death in 1785, I achieved my dream! My Royal Academy edition of *Don Quixote* was acclaimed by the well-known Signore Bodoni of Italy, the illustrious Benjamin Franklin of America, my own most beloved King Carlos III, and by all printers and scholars of consequence throughout Europe, as the finest book but one ever produced in Spain. Its only rival was *The Sallust*, which I myself had printed ten years before! Moreover, it was said that my works so inspired my fellow countrymen and artisans as to cause greater advances in the Typographic Art in twenty years than it had made in the two preceding centuries! The Typographic Art has happily continued to advance through the centuries. Today you are blessed with such stupendous typographic houses as *Mackenzie-Harris Corporation*, located at 460 Bryant Street in San Francisco, California, who possess under their eaves far more type than existed in the entire world of my time. Yet I may point with some measure of pride to the fact that the typographic excellence achieved in my *Sallust* and in my *Don Quixote* has not yet been surpassed in all the world. *Gracias a Dios!*

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